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CONTENTS

PAGE

Yon Pomegranate Tree (Poem) ..... *Grace Warren Landrum* 66

Roan Barbary ..... *Paul Fatout* 67

An Agnostic Life of Shakspere ..... *Robert M. Smith* 75

Shakspere's Plays in the Richmond Theatre, 1819-1838 ..... *Martin Staples Shockley* 88

Soliloquy on Hamlet (Poem) 94

Index of Names and Subjects in the 1939 Bibliography ..... *Ralph P. Rosenberg* 95

Ascham's Scholemaster and Spenser's February Eclogue ..... *Sidney Rosenzweig* 103

James Fenimore Cooper and Shakspere ..... *Edward P. Vandiver, Jr.* 110

Tennyson's Earliest Shakspere Parallels ..... *E. A. Mooney, Jr.* 117

Editorial Notes and Comments ..... *S. A. T.* 125

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YON POMEGRANATE TREE

"Nightly she sings on yon pomegranate tree",
The nightingale of Juliet's starry view,
Whose notes, vibrant forever, swell to me
Triumphant love-death, gloriously new;
As if the crowd in fair Verona's town
Gazed still at lips red as pomegranate flower,
Red, red as Tybalt's blood, and soft as down
Of bed which mocked her clamorous nuptial hour
In land far off the blossom sings her doom,
Where mockingbirds lost in the dusky leaves
With muted midnight softness pierce the gloom
To lessen pain to one that lately grieves.
The fruit's rich dye repeats the blossom's hue
Red to the heart, death love-ensanguined, true.

GRACE WARREN LANDRUM

Williamsburg, Virginia

ROAN BARBARY

By PAUL FATOUT

AMONG the domestic animals alluded to by Shakspere, the horse merits most frequent and affectionate attention. Madden[1] surmises that Shakspere must have owned a saddle-horse; be that as it may, the many allusions to curb, rein, bridle, spur, pace, the manage, jades, pack-horse, post-horse, courser, Barb, and so on, indicate that, like a good Englishman, he quickened at the sight or touch of spirited horseflesh.

However, English horses in his time were generally of mixed breeding, or of no breeding whatever. Despite legislation to improve horse stock as early as the reign of Henry II, active efforts by Henry VII, and drastic regulations by Henry VIII, Elizabethan horses were still nondescript. According to Holinshed:

> King Henry VIII erected a noble studderie for breeding horses, especially the greatest sorte, and for a time had verie good success with them. The officers however seemed wearie: and procured a mixed breed of baser races, whereby his good purpose came to little effect.[2]

Elizabeth herself, though an accomplished horsewoman, and fond also of those well-known jaunts about the country with a great retinue of carts, carriages, and saddle-horses (as many as 2400 horses, Holinshed reports), seems not to have instigated Parliamentary measures for improvement. Hence, the horses of Shakspere's time were heterogeneous.

Until the improvement of firearms and artillery, a change which means the passing of armor, the effort had been to breed heavy horses capable of bearing the weight of a man in armor (about 400 pounds) and of sustaining the shock of combat.[3] No doubt, York's "bonny beast"[4] is such a Great Horse; so, too, is Adonis's, which Shakspere describes in detail.[5] "Broad breast," "thick tail" (as distinguished from the thinner, finer-haired tail of the light horse, particularly the Oriental), "short-jointed" (well coupled, we should say), and "broad buttock" indicate a heavy horse, comparable to the modern draft type; the "high crest" is a

characteristic of the draft stallion today even as of Adonis's stallion. "Fetlocks shag and long," *i.e.,* a heavy feather on the legs, is found on both the Clydesdale, a Scotch breed, and the Shire, the oldest of the English draft breeds. The latter is a descendant of the High Almaine, the Friesland, and the Flanders, all of which were known in Elizabethan England, as noted by Blundeville; heavy horses, bred on the continent for war, they had been imported as early as the thirteenth century for crossing on the scrubby native stock. Although Shakspere does not mention any of these by name, his frequent use of "shock"[6] as an image derived from evolutions of the heavy war horse indicates that he was familiar with the type.

Adonis's horse is also a "lusty courser," a term used by Shakspere both in the sense of a heavy horse fit for tournament and war, and also in its later, seventeenth century, sense of a fast, light horse.[7]

Shakspere's admiration, indeed, is chiefly for the more spirited light horse. With armor going out of fashion and Elizabethan prosperity setting in, hunting with horses and hounds, and to a lesser extent racing,[8] became required social accomplishments, both of the nobleman to the manner born and of the parvenu. Shakspere accurately observes his tumultuous society:

> Some glory in their birth, some in their skill,
> Some in their wealth, some in their body's force;
> Some in their garments, though new-fangled ill;
> Some in their hawks and hounds, some in their horse.[9]

The horsiness of the best people gives ironic point to the colloquy between Beatrice and Margaret:

> *Bea.:* By my troth, I am exceeding ill: heigh-ho!
> *Marg.:* For a hawk, a horse, or a husband?[10]

Like Chaucer's Monk, the Tudor gentry

> yaf not of that text a pulled hen,
> That seith, that hunters been not holy men.[11]

However, no Elizabethan gentleman—not even the king—owned a stable comparable to the fast thoroughbreds of the modern foxhunt.[12] His horses were a miscellaneous

assortment of Galloway nags, Irish hobbies, High Almains, Flanders, Friesland, and homebreds. Perhaps also a Spanish jennet, "finelie made both head, bodie, and legs . . . for his lightnesse, and swiftnesse withall . . . verie much esteemed, and especiallie of noble men;"[13] a Turk, "though not verie great nor strong made, yet verie light and swift in their running and of great courage;"[14] or a Neapolitan, known for "their comelie shape, their strength, their courage, their sure footmanship, their well-reigning, their lofty pace, their cleane toothing, their strong galloping and their swift running."[15]

Contemporary opinion attests the staying powers of the wiry Galloway[16] and the Irish hobby, so-called from the old native name *Haubini,* "so light and swift, notwithstanding . . . somewhat skittish and fearful."[17] But the High Almain, Flanders, and Friesland were clumsy and slow for hunting. The homebred jades were of mixed and undistinguished breeding, full of "jades' tricks; which are their own right by the law of nature."[18] Some of the assembly, mounted and

> roused in their seats,
> Their neighing coursers daring of the spur,[19]
> Till, like a jade, Self-will himself must tire.[20]

may have found their mounts, though full of pride and mettle at the outset, soon winded. Like Lust, according to the sorrowful Lucreece:

> While Lust is in his pride, no exclamation
> Can curb his heat or rein his rash desire,

The unskilful rider, too fond of the spur, and too forward in the chase, might find himself "jaded out of the field,"[21] to reflect wanly, like gloomy King Henry:

> Find we a time for frighted peace to pant,
> And breathe short-winded accents of new broils[22]

and to complain, with Grumio, "Fie, fie, on all tired jades, on all mad masters, on all foul ways."[23] Sustained running over rough country was beyond many of these horses: "Eight yards of uneven ground is threescore and ten miles afoot with me,"[24] says Falstaff. "If I travel but four foot by the squier further afoot, I shall break my wind."[25]

Polonius, never wind-broken himself, admonishes Ophelia:

> Tender yourself more dearly;
> Or — not to crack the wind of the poor phrase,
> Running it thus — you'll tender me a fool.[26]

Of the variety of horses likely to be found, Blundeville says:

> Some men have a breed of Great Horses, meete for warre and to serve in the field. Others have ambling horses of a meane stature for to journey and travel by the waie. Some again have a race of swift runners to run for wagers or to gallop the buck.[27]

And Professor Ridgeway:

> Topsall writing in the sixteenth century is . . . perfectly correct in stating that "Brittaine breedeth little horses and amblers."[28]

If the gentleman hunter were a connoisseur of horseflesh, and if he were wealthy enough,[29] he probably owned a prized Barbary or two, "of unimproved mettle hot and full,"[30] which gave spirit to the assembly, even as John of Lancaster at the Battle of Shrewsbury, of whom Prince Hal exclaims:

> O, this boy
> Lends mettle to us all![31]

and as Lady Macbeth, who spurs the faltering purpose of Macbeth until he declares:

> Bring forth men children only;
> For thy undaunted mettle should compose
> Nothing but males.[32]

In the shift of emphasis from heavy to light horse breeding, the Eastern horse was an all-important influence. It had long been (and still is) representative of superiority in conformation, speed, and endurance. The Barbary was a North African desert horse; according to Professor Ridgeway, the Libyan desert furnished the foundation stock for Egyptian, Arabian, and all other Eastern horses; it influenced Italian and Spanish horses, and by early crossing on Scotch and Irish stock was responsible for the spirit of the Galloway and the Irish Hobby.

The Barbary was esteemed by Shakspere. Recall Rich-

ard's favorite horse, "roan Barbary,"[33] twice mentioned in *Richard II,* and Claudius's wager of six Barbary horses.[34] As to colors, Blundeville says:

> The colours depend on the preponderance of the elements . . . when he doth participate in all the four elements, equally and in due proportion, then is he perfect and most commonly shall be one of the coulours following. That is to say, a browne baye, a dapple graye, a blacke full of silver heares, a blacke lyke a moore, or a fayre rone, which kinds of horses are most recommendable, most temperate, strongest, and of gentellest nature. And next to these are such as be most like in colour to them: as the bright bay, the darke baye, that hath neyther learing looke, mealy nose, nor white flanke.[35]

"A fayre rone:" Hotspur's horse is "a roan, a crop-ear," and the Dauphin's "of the colour of the nutmeg and of the heat of the ginger."[37] Of other approved colors, Timon rides "a bay courser,"[38] Lefeu speaks of "bay Curtal and his furniture,"[39] and Edgar has been

> proud of heart, to ride on
> a bay trotting horse over four-inched bridges.[40]

Blundeville distinguishes between a "black lyke a moore" and the black which indicates that earth, hence dullness, is predominant in the makeup.[41] Since the Elizabethans used the term "black" loosely, the precise distinction is not clear; if it were, it might throw light on the vexing question of the color of Othello. However, Timon instructs Tamora to provide herself with "two proper palfreys, black as jet."[42]

White, indicating preponderance of air, meant a horse "phlegmatic, slow, dull, and apt to lose flesh."[43] Yet Lord Lucius presents Timon with "four milk-white horses;"[44] Lavinia's horse is a "snow-white goodly steed,"[45] probably a symbol of innocence; and Richard's is "white Surrey."[46] The Jailer's mad daughter sings, "He's buy me a white Cut, forth for to ride."[47] Sir Andrew Aguecheek's "grey Capilet"[48] is not, I surmise, a dappled gray, but rather a variety of white. Of dun, an off color, Shakspere's only mention is:

> Tut, dun's the mouse, the constable's own word.
> If thou art Dun, we'll draw thee from the mire
> Of this sir-reverence love, wherein thou stickest
> Up to the ears.[49]

The prevailing colors of the Barbary horse today are dark bay, brown, chestnut, black, and grey. If they were so then,[50] as there is no reason to doubt, since the Eastern horse had, by Shakspere's time, ben bred for 1500 years or more, one speculates as to the origin of the *roan* Barb. Perhaps it was off color, it was sold out of the native stud; perhaps it was a cross-bred. The chestnut as a prevailing color gives some point to the question of the Jailer's daughter: "You know the Chestnut Mare the Duke has?"[51]

Of markings, Blundeville says:

> It is an excellent good mark also that a horse have a white star in his forehead, or a white list or fillet coming down on his head without touching his brow, and not fully arriving to his nose.[52]

Shakspere recognizes the blemish of a dark spot, rather than a white star between the eyes:

> *Eno.:* Will Cæsar wep?
> *Agr.:* He has a cloud in's face.
> *Eno.:* He were the worse for that, were he a horse;
> So is he, being a man.[53]

This brief survey encompasses but a small fraction of Shakspere's allusions. It may nevertheless show that he had an eye for a horse, that he knew the creak and smell of saddle leather, and, feet in stirrups, the exhilarating lift all horsemen know.

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[1]*The Diary of Master William Silence.* D. H. Madden. Longmans. 1897. One of the most readable books on Shakspere's allusions to venery and horsemanship.

[2]*Holinshed's Chronicles,* Ed. 1840. Vol. VI, p. 3.

[3]One statute of Henry VIII, for example (1541. 32 Hy. VIII.), stipulated that in some twenty-six shires no stallion under 15 hands was to be used for breeding. Such a size, though smaller than the modern draft, which reaches 16-17½ hands, was larger than the native stock, and than Oriental light horses, which even today rarely exceed 14½ hands.

[4]*2 Henry VI.* V, 2, 12. According to the N. E. D.: "In earlier Eng. it (bonny) appears to have often had the sense: Of fine size, big (as a good quality)."

[5]*Venus and Adonis.* 295-98:

> Round-hoof'd, short-jointed, fetlocks shag and long.
> Broad breast, full eye, small head and nostrils wide,
> High crest, short ears, straight legs and passing strong,
> Thin mane, thick tail, broad buttock, tender hide.

These lines, and also 271-76, are the focus of Professor Carleton Brown's contention that the catalogue of points of a horse was traditional and stereotyped, stemming from

the Latin of Columella, Palladius, and others. He contends that, though Shakspere, as a countryman, may have had first-hand experience with horses, the similarity of the above description to Elizabethan texts (chiefly *Batman uppon Bartholome,* Googe's *Foure Bookes of Husbandry* and Blundeville's *Art of Ryding* and *Fower chiefyst offices belongyng to Horsemanshippe,* all of which echo the classic writers) is too noticeable to be accidental. Cf. *Shakespeare and the Horse.* Carleton Brown. *The Library.* Third Series. Volume III. 1912. pp. 152-180.

[6]Cf. *Midsummer Night's Dream.* I, 2, 34. *Richard II,* I, 3, 136. III, 3, 56. *1 Henry IV.* I, 1, 12. *Henry V.* IV, 8, 114. *Richard III.* V, 3, 93. *Hamlet.* III, 1, 62. *King John.* V, 7, 117.

[7]*Venus and Adonis.* 31. Cf. 261, 403. Of "courser" as a heavy war horse, Cf. *2 Henry IV.* IV, 1, 119. *Henry V.* III, 7, 47. *3 Henry VI.* V, 7, 9. *Antony and Cleopatra.* I, 2, 22. *Pericles.* II, 1, 164. However, Timon's "bay courser" (*Timon of Athens.* I, 2, 217) probably, and Iago's "coursers for cousins" (*Othello.* I, 1, 113) certainly refer to light horses.

[8]During the reign of Elizabeth there were no prescribed race courses or laws governing racing; however, a popular sport was individual match racing; for example, the "wild goose chase" over hazardous country, the rider behind being compelled to follow the leader. (Cf. *Romeo and Juliet.* II, 4, 75). Systematic racing was introduced by James I, developed by Charles I, much more so by Charles II, to whose time may be traced the origin of the modern Thoroughbred.

[9]Sonnet XCI. 1-4.

[10]*Much Ado About Nothing.* III, 4, 53-5.

[11]*Canterbury Tales.* Prologue. 177-8.

[12]The English Thoroughbred (of which the modern hunter is a variety), most popular and successful light horse breed in the western world, is the result of crossing Barbary, Turkish, and Arabian stallions on the lighter native mares. Shakspere knew and admired the Barbary; the Turk (a name often loosely applied to Eastern horses, some of which may have been of Arabian origin) was known in England by 1589, at least, though Shakspere does not mention it; the Arabian, however, was not introduced before 1616.

[13]Blundeville. Quoted from *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse.* William Ridgeway. Cambridge. 1905. p. 259.

[14]*Ibid.,* p. 189.

[15]*Ibid.,* p. 189.

[16]"A small horse (originally of a breed cultivated in Galloway, Scotland) . . . between 13 and 15 hands high, showing activity and endurance under strain." *Thoroughbred Bloodlines.* John F. Wall. 1939. p. 3. However, Schmidt's *Shakespeare-Lexicon* definition of "common hackneys," hence horses to be regarded with some contempt by the discriminating, gives point to Pistol's slurring remark: "Know we not Galloway nags?" (*2 Henry IV.* II, 4, 205). King Henry uses "common-hackney'd" as a term of reproach to Prince Hal. (*1 Henry IV.* 111, 2, 40).

[17]Blundeville. Quoted from Ridgeway, p. 388.

[18]*All's Well That Ends Well.* IV, 5, 64-5.

[19]*2 Henry IV.* IV, 1, 117-19.

[20]*Lucreece.* 705-8.

[21]*Antony and Cleopatra.* III, 1, 34.

[22]*1 Henry IV.* I, 1, 2-3.

[23]*Taming of the Shrew.* IV, 1, 1. "Jade," both as substantive and verb, is a frequent image with Shakspere. Petruchio's horse (*Shrew.* III, 2, 49-65) is the ultimate in jades, a sad collection of unsoundness which must have been all too prevalent in Elizabethan horses.

[24]*1 Henry IV.* II, 2, 27-8.

[25]*1 Henry IV.* II, 2, 12-14.

[26]*Hamlet.* I, 3, 107-9.

[29]Quoted from *The Great Horse* . Sir Walter Gilbey, Bat. 1899. p. 31.

[28]*The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse.* Cambridge. 1905. p. 361. The amble was an artificial gait, in which the horse moved simultaneously the fore and hind legs on each side, as in the pace. (Modern zoologists, however, incline to the belief that the pace was the *natural* gait of the prehistoric horse.) A moderate, easy gait, it made amblers preferred of women and probably of unskilful riders.

Chaucer's Wife of Bath and Clerk ride Amblers. On the other hand, ambling was too gentle and mannered for the more forthright, who regarded it with contempt. Hence Hamlet's "you jig, you amble, and you lisp" (*Hamlet.* III, 1, 149-50); Gloucester's "wanton ambling nymph" (*Richard III.* I, 1, 17). Cf. *Romeo and Juliet.* I, 4, 11; *1 Henry IV.* III, 2, 60-1.

[29]"James imported from the Orient . . . an Arabian Stallion for which he paid five hundred pounds." *Types and Breeds of Farm Animals.* Charles S. Plub. 1920.

[30]*Hamlet. I,* 7, 96.

[31]*1 Henry IV.* V, 4, 24-5.

[32]*Macbeth.* I, 7, 7-5. "Mettle," according to the N. E. D.: "Of a horse, and occasionally of other animals" occurs often in Shakspere.

[33]*Richard* II. V, 5, 78. 81.

[34]*Hamlet.* V, 2, 155, 168.

[35]Ridgeway. Op. cit. pp. 371-2.

[36]*1 Henry IV.* II, 3, 72.

[37]*Henry V.* III. 7, 20-1. The Dauphin's horse is the most spirited in Shakspere: "le cheval volant, the Pegasus . . . he trots the air; the earth sings when he touches it . . . pure air and fire" and so on for half the scene.

[38]*Timon of Athens.* I, 2, 216.

[39]*All's Well That Ends Well.* II, 3, 65.

[40]*Lear.* III, 4, 54-5.

[41]"If earth preponderates, then is he dull and black and russet. For if he have more of the earth than the rest, he is melancholly, heavy and faint-hearted, and of colour a blacke, a Russet, bright or dark donne." Ridgeway. Op. cit.

[42]*Titus Andronicus.* V, 2, 50.

[43]Blundeville. Ridgeway. Op. Cit.

[44]*Timon of Athens.* I, 2, 185.

[45]*Titus Andronicus.* II, 3, 76.

[46]*Richard III.* V, 2, 8.

[47]*The Two Noble Kinsmen.* III, 4, 22. N. E. D.: "A familiar expression for a common or labouring horse," hence suited to such a person of low degree.

[48]*Twelfth Night.* III, 4, 315. As to white horses, Professor Carleton Brown says (*Op. cit.,* p. 165): "Certainly, to judge from the romances, the favorite colour of the horse in the Middle Ages was white." However, white horses, though popular in pictures and in literature, have not achieved as many dramatic rôles as painters and writers would have us believe. Useful in ceremonials, they were supplanted in the field and on the race course by darker colors, chiefly varieties of the bay. However, among the Arabs solid white is prized, though rarely found. Concerning color, a pertinent comment is quoted by Sir Walter Gilbey (Op. cit., pp. 17-18) from the list of horses killed at the battle of Falkirk, 1298: ". . . a black horse, 24 marks . . . a white pied charger value 60 marks . . . a black hackney charged with a white hind foot value 100 marks . . ."

[49]*Romeo and Juliet.* I, 4, 40-4. "To draw dun out of the mire was a rural pastime, in which *Dun* meant a dun horse, supposed to be stuck in the mire and sometimes represented by one who played."

[50]Cf. The reference to black Othello as "a Barbary horse." (*Othello.* I, 1, 112.) Thus, "gennets for germans," line 114, has more point when it is remembered that the Barbary horse was an influence in the breeding of the Spanish jennet.

[51]*The Two Noble Kinsmen.* V, 2, 83-4.

[52]Ridgeway. p. 373

[53]*Antony and Cleopatra.* III, 2, 51-2.

AN AGNOSTIC LIFE OF SHAKSPERE

By Robert M. Smith

I.

THE LIFE AND ART OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE[1] by Professor Hazleton Spencer of Johns Hopkins, a sound scholar carefully trained in the exacting disciplines of Professor Kittredge's school of historical criticism, is a most scrupulously fairminded and straightforward account of the facts about Shakspere and his art. Because Professor Spencer eschews the J. Dover Wilson fashion of wild conjecture and imaginative flight, he provides a salutary check to the excesses still invading Shakspere criticism. With neither Baconians nor the more popular Oxfordians will he enter a race, not even as a spectator to venture a dollar. So far as is humanly possible for a lover of Shakspere, he sticks to the facts and the external evidences, carefully discriminating between external and internal evidence, between tradition, legend, and gossip, and after weighing the possibilities and the probabilities, nearly always concludes with the tantalizing but honest deduction: "we do not know," "no one knows," "we can not know." His first chapter, which is devoted to Shakspere's career may, therefore, be appropriately entitled "an agnostic life of Shakspere."

What are all of these many important and perennial questions that in Spencer's opinion have no answers? What are these things that we do not know and cannot know? A comparison of Professor J. Q. Adams's biography, which appeared seventeen years ago, with the present work, will serve not only to reveal them but to illustrate the important differences in temper and tone between the two biographers. Adams undoubtedly remains the only biographer who can make a life of Shakspere readable and exciting. With Adams, Shakspere's life becomes a romantic adventure. On the contrary, the general reader and the undergraduate student who are making first excursions into Shakspere biography will find Spencer's first chapter exceedingly hard going, because it is so condensed and packed with fact, and with the scholarly weighing of evidences. On the other hand,

because Adams is so confident that he has the final answers where Spencer is prevailingly tentative and sceptical, the student will find less enjoyment, but a more cautious guide in Spencer.

Both critics, however, are on common ground in sharing the belief that Shakspere's private life and opinions cannot be extracted from his plays; both agree with Sir Sidney Lee that Shakspere did not wear his heart on his sleeve—not even in the *Sonnets*. Both belong, therefore, to what Professor Brewster has termed "the low significance school" rather than to the Dowden-Brandes "high significance school."

But within these objective confines when we compare further we discover that Adams is a yea-sayer and Spencer a nay-sayer. Professor Spencer's agnoticism is all-pervading: We cannot explain Shakspere by his Stratford environment. We do not know certainly that John Shakspere was Shakspere's father, or whether Richard Shakspere was his grandfather. "We shall never know" what part Shakspere's mother, Mary Arden, played in influencing the mind of her son. Professor Spencer fails to mention or to stress the fact that his mother was a Catholic, or to share Professor Parrott's reasonable conjecture that Shakspere's general spirit of religious tolerance may well be derived from the presence in the family of both Protestant and Catholic persuasions. About Shakspere's boyhood "we know nothing," though the imagery of the Stratford countryside "encourages the supposition that he loved the woods and fields and ranged them with an observant eye." One-eighth of the metaphors and similes in *Venus and Adonis* seem to be drawn from the poet's direct observation, two and a half times the number derived from books.

We do not know who taught Shakspere at grammar school, nor how long his formal education continued. We do not know what Shakspere thought of love, since he expressed every variety of it, nor do we know whether Shakspere's marriage with Ann Hathaway was happy or not. English authorities, like Lee and Chambers, usually conclude that

there was something painful and irregular in it; Adams, following Gray, goes to great lengths to show that there was nothing irregular in the union; moreover, that Shakspere was a loving and exemplary husband all his days—even taking his family with him to London, and thoughtfully providing in his will that Ann should have "the second best bed"—the first best bed being for guests and, therefore, never occupied by the happy pair. Although Spencer concurs with Adams on "the second best bed," he maintains that what contact (if any) Shakspere kept with his family from 1586 to 1596, during his early years in London, "is quite unknown," though everything points to his family's having remained in Stratford (p. 17). He passes over Adams's interesting inference from the amount of taxes which Shakspere paid in London that the poet had his family with him. Like Adams, but unlike many critics, he fortunately does not cite here the passages in *The Tempest,* and *Twelfth Night* censuring irregular intercourse. In such matters Adams tends to draw Shakspere, if not as a Puritan, at least, as a sober and righteous citizen, and even omits entirely the Manningham story. Spencer includes it in the belief that it is too much to suppose that the poet had no love affairs in London, but he does not, like so many Puritan critics, employ the 129th sonnet to proclaim that Shakspere's spirit was expended in a waste of shame, or indulge in lurid fancies about Mary Fitton and "the dark lady," or conclude with Frank Harris that the plays reveal a soul consumed with the corrosive canker of sensuality. Shakspere was, indeed, like other Renaissance youth, a gay liver who enjoyed the convivialities of good company over the cups of canary and sherris sack, had an eye for feminine beauty, but was neither a sot nor a lecher. The plays could have been written by neither. With less reason Spencer leans in Adams's direction in crediting, though tentatively, the gossip of Vicard Ward that Shakspere's death resulted from a merry drinking bout with Drayton and Jonson.

"No one knows," moreover, whether the poaching story of Davies and Rowe is true. Adams goes to great length to absolve Shakspere entirely by showing that Sir Thomas Lucy never had a deer park. Spencer likewise will not let Shakspere steal a deer. Nor is Justice Shallow a satire on

Lucy. That a London audience could have identified Shallow as Lucy is incredible, and Hotson's fantastic attempt to identify Shallow as Gardiner, the Bankside J. P., is even less credible. The "horseboy" story is in the same category. "There is nothing," says the sceptical Spencer a trifle wearily, "for a biographer to do but rehearse these stories. Any of them may be true. All of them may be false." Only one fact about these early years is certain: that after *c.* 1585 he was in London.

Professor Spencer similarly will allow himself no dogmatism, not even a conjecture, as to the acting Company Shakspere associated himself with during the apprentice years 1587-1594. The generally accepted view of Lee and Baldwin is that Shakspere followed the Earl of Leicester's company to London about 1585, became a full member and shareholder in 1594 and was continuously associated with it thereafter. Adams, however, on the evidences of early Shaksperian plays in the possession of the Earl of Pembroke's players ingeniously champions Pembroke. We know that Southampton was Shakspere's patron but not for how long. D'avenant's estimate that the Earl once gave him a thousand pounds is "an incredibly tall figure." Nor do we know when Shakspere began or stopped writing sonnets. None of the many schemes for arranging the sonnets, or dating them, or ascribing names to 'the friend', 'the rival poet', or 'the dark lady' are convincing. The meaning of Thorpe's dedication to Mr. W. H. also "remains unpenetrated." On the whole, Spencer holds with Adams that Shakspere was chiefly responding to the Petrarchan fashion set by Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* (1591). The *Sonnets,* he wisely concludes, will remain a puzzle for scholars and cranks unless further external evidence is turned up.

The theory which most of us have been teaching to our students for years that Shakspere began playwriting in collaboration with leading dramatists Spencer says has been abandoned—though he does not tell by whom, or how, or why? He still clings (p. 37) to Seneca as the prime inspiration of the Elizabethan tragedy-of-blood, though this hoary view has been seriously challenged recently by Willard Farnam in *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Drama,*

1936 (also in the Bibliography), and by Howard Baker in his *Induction to Tragedy*. He does not, however, partake in the squeamishness of critics who deny *Titus Andronicus* to Shakspere on æsthetic grounds.

In pointing out with discernment Shakspere's lack of case in critical comedy, and his refusal to follow Jonson's lead in writing comedies of humour, Spencer tends, perhaps, to underestimate the humours and the satires of lowly types that are present beginning with the *Henry IV* series, and continuing through the *Merry Wives,* and the so-called problem comedies, namely, from such figures as Falstaff's companions to Pompey and Mistress Overdone. I fancy some scholar some day will bring out a good dissertation on Ben Jonson's influence on Shakspere.

Shakspere was not, as Spencer alleges, "a long time" finding his true vein of comedy. *Love's Labours Lost, Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Midsummer Night's Dream,* written within the space of a very few years, clearly show that, though he experimented with other types, he was at home from the first in the romantic Euphuistic comedy of the Lyly-Greene variety, a vein he steadily worked with increasing riches until the end of the century.

One of the most needful caveats, which Spencer's cool scepticism keeps him repeating, is against "putting our finger on a passage and saying, 'This is what Shakspere really thought.'" (p. 44). "If the poet had a religious life, he kept it to himself, as far as surviving evidence goes." This is putting the case perhaps a little too strongly. Lee and Cumberland Clark demonstrate how every evidence goes to show that Shakspere was in good standing with the Anglican church from baptism to burial; that whatever may have been his own private thoughts or beliefs—and there is no doubt that they ranged freely in the manner of Montaigne and in the fashion of Renaissance scepticism over every conceivable problem—he was outwardly a conformist. Nor should we be led astray by such late traditions as those of Davies, and conclude with Chambers that Shakspere "dyed a papist." Spencer is quite right, however, in insisting that Shakspere's tragedies "are not resigned like the tragedies of

Sophocles. They are not Christian. They are not meek. They are not full of hope, despite their vindication of the noble fortitude of which the human spirit is capable." In spite of Lytton Strachey's essay, *Shakespeare's Final Period,* Spencer inclines to accept "the new and serene mood" of the last plays and days. Here he comes perilously near practising the fallacy against which he preaches when he cites Prospero's speech (p. 75) about "the cloud-capped towers, etc." as evidence that Shakspere found not only the world of shadow, but the world of phenomena, as well as that of the spirit, a great flux in which "Our little life is rounded with a sleep." Apparently no Shakspere critic, however objective he may strive to be, can wholly resist putting his finger on a passage and saying: "This is what Shakspere really thought." Spencer's main tenet, however, is worth observing; as Shakspere critics in a world gone mad with fanatics, we should indulge in "personal significance" as little as possible.

Spencer refuses consent to Tannenbaum's demonstration of Collier's forged Revels accounts, but agrees with him on the good penmanship of the poet. He also agrees with Tucker Brooke that Shakspere's political sympathies were with the established order. Though he was not a Fascist, he was a conservative Little Englander who took little interest either in the New World of geographical exploration or of science. Shakspere has of late been damned by some Communists for being a stupid, petty bourgeois, but also as ardently claimed by others as true to the party line and the popular front. Spencer puts the proper quietus on all such mongering when he observes that "anyone who is naive or unscrupulous enough to select materials for a pattern of half-truths can find in Shakespeare enough to prove anything he pleases. It is to the credit of Spencer that he avoids so generally these pitfalls, and emerges a safe and sound, if laborious, pilot through the mazes of Shakspere biography.

II.

PROFESSOR SPENCER'S Chapters 3-11 on Shakspere's plays, like his biography, are better adapted to students in graduate seminars than to undergraduates

or general readers. Behind the mass of historical fact is an enthusiastic critic possessing common sense, acumen, and taste, and much delight in the nuances of Shakespeare's dramatic art, but unfortunately the conscientious historical scholar too often overcomes the critic and sacrifices interpretation to prolonged discussions of title, date, source, quarto and folio text and their relationships. Since this factual matter has little or no interest, rightly or wrongly, for undergraduates and general readers, Spencer would have written a far more readable book had he placed these recondite matters with his notes at the back in fine type, and devoted the space thus saved to critical discussions of general interest. For the special student and scholar, however, the book is especially valuable as a convenient summary of modern research and opinion; moreover the condensed theatrical history of each play is an especially welcome contribution not readily available elsewhere.

Before passing to critical disagreements, let me call attention to some excellent passages of critical insight. First is Spencer's refusal to traffic with "the disintegrators," Robertson, Dover Wilson, *et al.,* against whom students in these days of mangled and perverse editions need special warning:

> "In general, the disintegrators fall into two main groups: absolvers of Shakespeare by ascribing inferior portions of his plays to other pens," (Robertson) "and explainers-away of harmless textual inconsistencies by hypothetical revision which Shakespeare is alleged to have made on a very large scale both in adapting plays by other authors and in revamping from time to time earlier precis of his own." (Wilson)

His finely balanced interpretation of Falstaff (pp. 180 ff) steers shrewdly between the sympathetic excesses of Morgann and Bradley and the Puritan denunciations of Fripp, who was apparently incapable of laughing with Shakspere over Falstaff. Of equal excellence is his paragraph on the character of King Henry IV (p. 188), and his full enjoyment and understanding of the tavern scenes in *Henry IV,* Part II (p. 192), as well as his condemnation of the "critical follies" that "look for a tragic flaw in the lovers" (Romeo and Juliet) or "wring a moral lesson out

of their bitter death" (p. 221); also his strictures on sentimentalizing Shylock, and his protests against smothering *Mid-Summer Night's Dream* on the stage with "gilded steam-radiator raiment." Few will be inclined to carp either with his wholesouled worship of Portia as "the pearl of heroines" (p. 293)—though Rosalind's gay wit behind the coffee pot at breakfast would wear better than Portia's tedious moralizings over good deeds shining in a naughty world. Under the guidance of W. W. Lawrence's *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies,* Spencer also steers a sensible course, especially in the treatment of Helena in *All's Well that Ends Well. Cymbeline,* the favorite of poets, comes in for resolute damning, and *The Winter's Tale,* a romance too much neglected, for as resolute praise.

Every Shakspere critic has a few special axes to swing. One of Spencer's well-placed cuts is at the Donne faddists recently led by T. S. Eliot. Spencer restores the balance by calling Donne "a once neglected but lately overrated poet," and adds that "his somewhat artificially stimulated twentieth century reputation has long passed its peak." For this relief much thanks.

A more serious issue is Spencer's renewed effort to fell the sturdy tree of traditional Hamlet interpretation. Following the lead of Professor Kittredge (*Shakspere,* 1916), a succession of his pupils in recent years have endeavored to demolish the Goethe-Schlegel-Coleridge-Bradley-Adams School by denying a tragic flaw in the hero, and thus removing the play from the plane of high tragedy. In 1918 Howard Mumford Jones endeavored to persuade us that Claudius rather than Hamlet was the proper man (*The King in Hamlet*). Three years later came Elmer E. Stoll's study of Hamlet in relation to Elizabethan and Jacobean stage traditions and conventions. Hamlet ceased to be the "muddy-mettled rascal" unpregnant of his cause, and appeared as the active hero of a traditional revenge-ghost melodrama (as originated by Kyd), an intrepid prince who killed the King at the right moment when all the proofs of guilt were in, only to lose his own life by treachery. W. Roy Mackenzie in 1922 published an uncompleted study *Hamlet as a Man of Action.* R. W. Babcock in *The Genesis of Shake-*

speare Idolatry (1931) endeavored to prove that the troubled soul of Hamlet had its origin in eighteenth century criticism. Spencer first entered the lists in *Shakespeare Improved* (1927), with the assertion: "If Hamlet is not a tragedy of external circumstance, there never was one," and interpreted the Prince as "a sweet high-minded boy who faces a fearful task like a gentleman." J. W. Draper's *The Hamlet of Shakespeare's Audience,* 1938 (not in Spencer's Bibliography), the most important volume of Hamlet interpretation since Dover Wilson's, *What Happens in Hamlet,* offers the most complete argument for this, shall we call it, *Harvard* interpretation of Hamlet? Spencer returns to the attack in the present work.

It is high time, therefore, that this trend be countered before it settles into a new orthodoxy which leaves the soul of Hamlet, or one half of him, and the half that has always been most fascinating, out of the play altogether. These critics do not try to pluck out the heart of Hamlet's mystery, because they deny that Hamlet has any mystery at all, in spite of Hamlet's repeated assertions that he has "that within which passeth show." In defiance of the text, they deny that Hamlet procrastinates at all. Surely Hamlet should know himself better than his critics; he not only procrastinates, but repeatedly upbraids himself for this fault of delay. These critics, however, discount or ignore the soliloquies; Spencer dismisses them as "arias" rather than authentic character revelations. Yet Professor Kittredge writes: "Are not Hamlet's soliloquies sincere?—Each of these speeches is in equal measure the outbreak of the person's character." (*S. A. B.* XI, 173). Hamlet plainly summarizes his internal difficulty in the immortal lines:

> "And thus the native hue of resolution
> Is sickli'd o'er with the pale cast of thought,
> And enterprises of great pitch and moment
> With this regard their currents turn awry
> And lose the name of action."

Why, if "Claudius is his own scourge, a daily one" (p. 81), may not Hamlet be, as he patently announces himself to be, *his* own scourge? It is clear that he is reproaching himself

again when he refers to "thinking too precisely on the event" and when he says:

> "I do not know
> Why yet I live to say 'this thing's to do,'
> Sith I have cause, and will, and strength, and means,
> To do 't."

Moreover, correctly surmising why his father's spirit has returned, he exclaims:

> "Do you not come your tardy son to chide,
> That, laps'd in time and passion, lets go by
> The important acting of your dread command?
> O, say!
> *Ghost.* Do not forget: this visitatiön
> Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose."

This key passage, not in soliloquy, Spencer lightly dismisses "as of no moment" (p. 316). Spencer here should heed the warning against the excessive use of the historical method which he has signalled to Stoll in the case of Falstaff: "the score itself forbids; and all historical criticism must rest on score reading." (p. 401). Let the Harvard critics return to the score.

To interpret the play by ignoring passages disclosing the soul of Hamlet; to turn it, as in the Maurice Evans production into an external tragedy of fate and blood revenge, of chance and environment, is to rob the tragedy of its universal significance and remove it from its rightful place as high tragedy in which a hero contends mightily against outward obstacles, but through inner tragic frailty contributes to his disaster. Being high-minded and well-intentioned—"like ourselves but greater"—he suffers more than he deserves and therefore elicits our awe, pity, and admiration. The truth of the matter, as in all great tragedies, is that in Hamlet we have the clash of character and environment—the hero struggling both with himself and with the hostile world.

Extremists of the Romantic or Subjective School have turned the play into the soul problem of Hamlet; the 'Harvard' Objective School, by centering attention on the play in relation to its age, has tried to solve by elimination the

mystery of Hamlet's inner struggle. Against the extremes of both schools Lewis Campbell's passage from *Tragic Drama in Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Shakespeare* (1904), may serve as the necessary corrective:

> "Tragedy does not consist, then, either of tragic situation alone nor of character study alone, but the action of character on situation, and of situation upon character. Character is destiny only in the sense that in other circumstances the possibilities of evil which for the time have triumphed might have been overruled by still greater possibilities of good. The character does not have certain elements that predestine him to doom whether or no. The pity of it combined with the horror and awe turns upon our conviction that in *other circumstances* the possibilities of evil might have been overcome.
>
> Place Hamlet somewhere else than in the Danish court, let him succeed to the peaceful possession of a throne, give him worthy subjects of his love and reverence, and adequate leverage for beneficient activity, and the splendid powers of action which come out spasmodically in foiling the plot against his life, in his manipulation of the players to his purpose of discovery and his final vindication to the right, would have secured to him the happiness, the popularity, and the outward success which his inherent nobleness deserved. The strain of passionateness which, being suppressed and thwarted, breaks out so as to ruin his main design would have been the spring of great achievements; the inspiration of high and daring deeds. His deep thoughts, his penetrating insight, his far reaching speculative vein, which, as it is, are all turned inwards and lose the name of action, might then have found free range and scope as to be full of blessing. When this is ignored, he is regarded as a born dreamer, for whom, as for Coleridge, the very name of duty paralyses the will. Such a personality would be less than tragic." (pp. 46-47).

Another danger in the "historical" interpretation of Hamlet as a man of action lurks in the assumption that generalizations upon fragmentary data of the age can tell us how the contemporary audience interpreted Hamlet; moreover, Draper seems to be insisting that *our* interpretations to be sound must be kept within the confines of these "historical" fictions—as if Shakspere were drawing only modes, types and fashions rather than men and women. The melancholy Dane did not originate in 18th century criticism, but in Shakspere's text, and generations of readers have found themselves endeared to Hamlet because of the many universal truths of human nature he reveals. Even Ben Jonson, the expert on fashions and 'humours', understood this truth when he penned the greatest critical estimate ever

made of his friend: "He was not for an age but for all time." There is no obligation whatever, therefore, upon anyone to confine his interpretation of Hamlet within the prescriptions of what Stoll, Draper, or Spencer fancy that age thought of Hamlet. Obviously neither they nor anyone else can wisely dogmatize about it. The historical estimate, to be sure, has proved a valuable and necessary corrective to the irresponsible vagaries of Hamlet criticism, and to the excesses of the Romantic school who see nothing in the play but psychological problems of the hero, but it is not necessary to swing to the other extreme, turn the play into flashy melodrama, and rattle off the soliloquies in Maurice Evans's fashion like an impatient school boy in a hurry to be off to the cricket field. Even Spencer himself is not satisfied by Evans's playing the lead as a "pleasant chatty young man instead of the tragic prince." The interpretation of J. Q. Adams, and the performance of John Gielgud, therefore, remain better interpretations of Hamlet than the studies of the 'Harvard' school which insist on Hamlet with the soul of Hamlet left out.

Professor Spencer's exegesis of *Othello* will serve as an answer to Stoll's ineffectual endeavors to persuade us that the tragedy is a disjointed melodrama, and Othello a preposterous mad fellow devoid of psychological truth. Draper, however, in his excellent studies of this play (see especially, *Captain General Othello,* Anglia XLIII, 296 *et seq.*) has refuted Spencer's contention that Iago's claim to promotion is stronger than Cassio's. Cassio's soldiership was modern, Iago's old-style; moreover to believe Iago's accusation that Cassio "never set a squadron in the field, etc.", is to be sucked in by Iago's jealous detraction and overlook his later statement that Cassio "is a soldier fit to stand by Caesar and give direction." Obviously Othello knew perfectly what he was doing in making the promotion; nor does he ever give any intimation to the contrary. Lodovico shows the same confidence when he delivers Cyprus to the care of Cassio at the end of the play.

Furthermore Othello is not "blameless." (p. 321). If he were, he would lose tragic proportion and become merely the innocent victim. Though he is "fallen in the practise

of a damned slave" and is much more sinned against than sinning, he is not free from the excess of a virtue, which in tragedy is as effective as a vice in bringing disaster. With unerring accuracy Iago reiterates this flaw, which Brutus and Hamlet also share with Othello:

Cassius. "Well, Brutus, thou art noble; yet I see
Thy honorable mettle may be wrought
From that it is dispos'd: therefore 'tis meet
That noble minds keep ever with their likes;
For who so firm that cannot be seduced? (I.2, 10-14)

Iago. "The Moor is of a free and open nature
That thinks men honest that but seem to be so,
And will as tenderly be led by th' nose
As asses are. (I.3,369-70; also II.1,297-8)

Claudius. "he [Hamlet], being remiss,
Most generous, and free from all contriving,
Will not peruse the foils." (IV.7, 135-7)

This excess of highmindedness in the cases of Brutus and Othello is accompanied by the fatal flaw of witlessness, a lack of perception, just as surely contributing to their downfall. Finally, as G. R. Elliot in "Othello as Love-Tragedy" (*American Review,* Jan. 1937) has acutely discerned, Othello's passionate love until Act V is wholly self-absorbing, possessive, and full of intense self-concern; he does not achieve the patience of unselfish love, until he turns judge upon himself, and "through self-damnation (V.2, 259ff) finds his way of purgation." Then his passion is lifted; he has come to see Desdemona's "visage in her mind, her inmost as well as her outward beauty; and his heart's "subdued" to her very quality.

May we not look forward to another book from Spencer when with a more judicious use of his historical equipment he brings his critical insight and zest to dwell more fully on Shakspere not as the fiction of history, "but the Representation of Life"?

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[1]Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York, 1940.

SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS IN THE RICHMOND THEATRE, 1819-1838

By MARTIN STAPLES SHOCKLEY

FOR eight years after the famous theatre fire of 1811 the city of Richmond, Virginia, was without a theatre. On June 11, 1819, was opened a new theatre which continued intermittently for nineteen years, until November 14, 1838, when The Marshall Theatre was opened.[1] Files of Richmond newspapers covering the years 1819-38 make possible a reasonably accurate and dependable survey of theatrical performances during this period.[2]

Newspaper records indicate that more than three hundred plays by nearly a hundred playwrights were produced in Richmond between 1819 and 1838. Among the playwrights most numerously represented were George Colman, the younger, Thomas Morton, and John O'Keefe. The records indicate the production of no less than sixteen plays by Colman, eleven by Morton, and ten by O'Keefe. Shakspere, with fourteen plays, stands second to Colman; Shakspere's fourteen plays were acted 106 times and Colman's sixteen 104 times. The most popular plays include *The Day After the Wedding, The Poor Soldier,* and *The Spoiled Child.* Twenty-three performances of *The Spoiled Child* are recorded. The only other play to equal this number is *Richard III.*

Among Shakspere's plays *Hamlet* and *Othello,* with records of fifteen performances each, stand next to *Richard III. Macbeth, The Merchant of Venice,* and *Romeo and Juliet* were produced ten times each. Less popular were *Lear,* produced seven times, and *Much Ado About Nothing* and *The Taming of the Shrew,* produced five times each. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was played twice, and *As You Like It, Henry IV, Julius Caesar,* and *King John* once each. The popularity of these plays in relation to others may be indicated by mentioning that forty-six plays were produced ten times or more each; six of these forty-six were Shakspere's. It is noticeable that Shakspere's tragedies were far more popular than his comedies, which were for the

most part crowded off the stage by eighteenth century comedies and contemporary farces. It must be remembered, however, that the number of performances cannot be considered an accurate representation of the audiences' tastes or opinions of the merits of the plays. Certain plays were produced more frequently because they included the favorite rôles of the star actors, and the audiences were attracted perhaps more by the star than by the play. *Richard III, Hamlet,* and *Othello* offered favorite starring rôles.

Shakspere's greatest characters were interpreted to the Richmond audience by the greatest stars of the American stage. Lucius Junius Booth made his American début in Richmond on July 6, 1821, as Richard III, a rôle which he repeated many times. Other notable Richards were Finn, Charles Kean, Mrs. Hill, and Miss Clara Fisher. Hamlet, Macbeth, and Othello were all played by Booth, Cooper, Conway, and Vandenhoff. Other Hamlets included Oxley, Wallack, and Mrs. Barnes; other Macbeths included Wallack and George Jones; other Othellos included Oxley and Edwin Forrest. Booth appeared in a wide range of Shaksperian rôles, including, in addition to those mentioned, Iago, Shylock, and Lear. Cooper's other rôles included Petruchio, Mark Anthony, and Benedick. The famous comedian Thomas Hilson played Falstaff and Touchstone; but he also appeared as Shylock, Iago, Falconbridge, and Richard III. Mrs. Gilfert starred with equal ease in comedy and tragedy, playing Beatrice, Constance, Cordelia, Catharine, Desdemona, Elizabeth, Juliet, Lady Macbeth, Portia, and Rosalind.

We may assume that all of Shakspere's plays were altered or adapted for the stage, yet the alterations were mentioned only twice. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was advertised once as "Shakespeare's corrected Comedy,"[3] but there was nothing to indicate the name of the corrector or the nature of the corrections. *Catharine and Petruchio* was usually advertised as Shakspere's, only one advertisement mentioning that it was "altered from Shakespeare's comedy of *The Taming of the Shrew.*"[4] Doubtless the adaptation was by Garrick.

The version of *Richard III* which was so familiar to the

Richmond audience was evidently Cibber's, which held the stage both in England and America during this period and later.[5] Several casts of characters as advertised in the Richmond newspapers[6] correspond closely with Cibber's. Further evidence is in a criticism of Booth's *Richard III* in which the critic quotes Cibber's famous "Richard's himself again."[7]

In 1823 a Richmond newspaper copied an article from the London *Courier* of February 11 on the revival of *King Lear*. Nahum Tate's adaptation held the stage well into the nineteenth century, but the writer says that Shakspere's *Lear* "was tried last night with sufficient success." The critic, in condemning the taste which would prefer Tate's adaptation, says: "We are gratified in announcing this counter revolution in the fates of Lear, this change from the heavy phraseology and tardy feeling of the Ancient Laureate, to the deep and rich poetry and passion of the play of Shakespeare."[8]

Tate's *Lear* evidently held the Richmond stage from 1819 to 1838. When a local critic wrote of Booth's Lear as "a king finally restored to his throne and its dignities,"[9] he had witnessed Tate's play and not Shakspere's acted by Booth. Arante is included in the cast of characters for the performance to which the critic refers.[10] Although four of the advertised casts of *Lear* are brief to the exclusion of all but major characters, twice later[11] complete casts included Arante. It seems that for all seven representations of Lear the monster was led about the stage with Tate's tent-hook in his nose.

Perhaps the most interesting Shaksperian performance was the "Grand Dramatic Olio, from Shakespeare, in five parts,"[12] in which Frederick Brown for his benefit acted *Hamlet, Macbeth, The Merchant of Venice, Richard III,* and *Coriolanus*—one act from each. This was the only production of *Coriolanus*.

The large body of theatrical criticism preserved in the Richmond newspapers of this period is mostly concerned with the abilities of the actors, yet occasional comments reveal the critics' interpretations and judgments of the plays.

In his criticism of Booth's Richard III, "Virginiensis" proved himself a true Southern Gentleman by declaring that, "the courting scene with *Lady Anne* is absolutely a libel on female character, and as such shocks every delicate mind."[13] "A Friend of the Drama" wrote of Macbeth that "no character in the whole range of the Drama, except perhaps that of Lear, requires such rare talents. The gradual working up of such a mind as Macbeth's to the unholy purposes of ambition, until he brings himself to the murder of his sovereign, calls forth all the genius of Shakespeare."[14] "Rusticus" considered *Othello* "one of Shakspeare's best" plays, because "none can be more replete with high-toned impassioned feeling—none better calculated to test the skill of an actor, and the judgment of an audience." The rôle of Othello he considered "one of the most difficult in the whole range of characters."[15] Daniel Trueheart, editor of the Richmond *Compiler,* expressed a similar opinion in his criticism of *Lear* when he wrote that "the drama of Lear is better fitted for the closet than the stage. There is not that scope of high wrought passion about Lear (his old age forbids it), which is calculated to give full play to the genius of the actor. Lear, for instance, is decidedly inferior to Richard or to Othello."[16] It is well to remember at this point that Trueheart was criticizing Nahum Tate's version of *King Lear.*

"Philo-Drama" wrote two extended criticisms, the *first* on *Hamlet,* the second on *Macbeth.* He pointed out two particular weaknesses in the characterization of Hamlet. The first is Hamlet's renunciation of Ophelia, because it "requires of Hamlet, under assumed madness, a total and instantaneous eradication of the strongest natural affections." However, "by a little deviation from the ordinary mode of representing the interview between Hamlet and Ophelia, the whole difficulty is removed." Also, in the interview between Hamlet and the Queen "we are accustomed to witness the most unnatural and malignant spirit" when Hamlet, "with a temper totally adverse to that which is displayed in the general character, taunts, if not grossly insults the Queen." In the correct interpretation Hamlet, "under the impulse of filial attachment, remonstrates with her, firmly and earnestly, but not vindictively."[17]

In his criticism of *Macbeth,* "Philo-Drama" writes that although there is "none which furnishes a more ample field for the display of great histrionic powers, . . . it has appeared to be unsuited to both of the leading dramatic schools. Neither the impetuosity of Kean nor the tameness of Kemble is competent to cover the fiend-like ambition, crouching under fear, which is so admirably blended in the character of Macbeth." Macbeth embodies "in the same person, that towering ambition which can brook no repulse, consociate with an appaling [*sic*] natural timidity, struggling for ascendancy. To let either passion 'run riot' would destroy the author's intention." A misconception of the dagger soliloquy is often responsible for the total failure of an actor in this rôle. "If fear assume the ascendancy and become the all-absorbing and appalling feeling, Macbeth, irresolute as he is, must be forever disarmed." The correct interpretation preserves, "as the guiding star, that ambition, which, though it faltered, had never for a moment deviated from its fell purpose." Lady Macbeth is "without exception the most difficult of Shakespeare's female characters . . . While by her energy of purpose and boldness of thought, she leads onward the ambitious but coward mind of her husband, she has not lost those female attributes, tenderness and love, which alone can secure her influence over her pliant tool . . . This compound of moral contradictions, conjugal devotions, and unrelenting cruelty, must be conceived and personated by the successful *artiste.*"[18]

It is evident that the Shaksperian plays most often acted in Richmond during this period were the same as those most often acted in the other American theatres for which records are available, and the same actors interpreted the same rôles.[19] Adaptations from Shakspere, even those which substantially altered the plays, were almost without exception advertised as Shakspere, and apparently the audience and even the critics made no distinction between Shakspere and Cibber, Garrick, or Tate. Newspaper criticism was concerned more with histrionic than dramatic merit, but occasional articles reveal that Shakspere's tragedies were admired above all others because they offered the greatest acting rôles.

SUPPLEMENT

Following is a list of Shakspere's plays produced in the Richmond Theatre between June 11, 1819, and November 14, 1838. Dates of performance are based upon records in contemporary Richmond newspapers. Two dates in parenthesis indicate that the play was produced between those dates.

As You Like It; 1819, Nov. 8.

Catherine and Petruchio, or The Taming of The Shrew; altered by David Garrick; 1819, July 3; 1821, Oct. 22; 1828, Dec. 26; 1829, April 21; 1837, Oct. 17.

Hamlet; 1819, June 21, Nov. 1; 1820, July 24, Aug. 30; 1822, Nov. 20; 1824, (Nov. 1-Nov. 13); 1828, Dec. 10; 1829, Nov. 14; 1831, Jan. 10; 1837, Jan. 14, Mar. 3, Oct. 27; 1838, Jan. 15, Feb. 19, 24.

Henry IV; 1819, Oct. 13.

Julius Caesar; 1819, July 7.

King John; 1822, July 22.

King Lear; altered by Nahum Tate; 1819, Nov. 26; 1821, July 11; 1822, Nov. 22, Dec. 4; 1828, Dec. 26; 1831, Feb. 4; 1838, Jan. 26.

Macbeth; 1819, June 28, Oct. 25, Dec. 23; 1821, Sept. 12, Oct. 19; 1822, Nov. 30; 1824, (Nov. 1-Nov. 13); 1838, Jan. 13, Feb. 20, 27.

Merchant of Venice, The; 1819, July 31, Dec. 18, 22; 1820, July 7; 1822, June 22; 1828, Feb. 14; 1829, June 3; 1830, Jan. 6; 1831, Jan. 7; 1838, Feb. 23.

Merry Wives of Windsor, The; 1820, Dec. 18; 1822, June 26.

Much Ado About Nothing; 1820, Sept. 18; 1822, July 8; 1829, Nov. 3; 1830, Oct. 6; 1837, Mar. 24.

Othello; 1819, June 23, Oct. 16, Dec. 11; 1821, June 25; 1822, Nov. 18; 1824, (Nov. 1-Nov. 13); 1828, Oct. 18; 1829, Oct. 14; 1830, Oct. 15; 1831, Apr. 5; 1836, Dec. 9; 1837, Mar. 31; 1838, Jan. 6, 12, 27.

Richard III, or The Battle of Bosworth Field; altered by Colley Cibber; 1819, June 12; 1820, Sept. 4, Oct. 28; 1821, July 6, 13, Sept. 10; 1822, Nov. 11, 16, Dec. 7; 1828, (Feb. 1-Feb. 13), Dec. 20; 1829, Nov. 26, Dec. 10; 1830, Oct. 11, 16, Nov. 2; 1831, Jan. 3, 13, 31, Feb. 19, 24; 1832, Dec. 27; 1838, Jan. 23.

Romeo and Juliet; 1819, July 23; 1820, Sept. 27; 1828, Oct. 29; 1829, Jan. 20, Oct. 30; 1837, Mar. 14, Apr. 5, Dec. 29; 1838, Feb. 15, 22.

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[1]For a more extended introduction see my related article, "American Plays in the Richmond Theatre, 1819-1838," *Studies in Philology* (1940), 37: 100-19.

[2]See Lester Jesse Cappon, *Virginia Newspapers 1821-1935* (New York, 1936), pp. 164-95.

[3]*Compiler* (Richmond), December 18, 1820.

[4]*Whig* (Richmond), October 17, 1837.

[5]Alice I. P. Wood, *The Stage History of Shakespeare's King Richard the Third* (New York, 1909), *passim.*

[6]*Compiler,* June 12, 1819; September 4, 1820; October 28, 1820; July 6, 1821; *et al.*
[7]*Ibid.,* July 16, 1821.
[8]*Ibid.,* April 23, 1823.
[9]*Ibid.,* July 13, 1821.
[10]*Ibid.,* July 11, 1821.
[11]*Ibid.,* December 4, 1822; *Whig,* December 26, 1828.
[12]*Compiler,* July 9, 1821.
[13]*Mercantile Advertiser* (Richmond), July 9, 1821.
[14]*Compiler,* October 27, 1819.
[15]*Mercantile Advertiser,* June 27, 1821.
[16]*Compiler,* June 13, 1821.
[17]*Ibid.,* March 10, 1838.
[18]*Ibid.,* March 13, 1838.
[19]See George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927-28), Volumes II-IV, *passim;* Reese D. James, *Old Drury of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), *passim.*

University of Oklahoma

SOLILOQUY ON HAMLET*

Prince Hamlet was an utter snob,
  All human contacts made him skittish;
He couldn't bear the Danish mob,
  Of course he couldn't like the British.

He scorned the public's taste in plays.
  He didn't even like his mother!
He flouted harmless popinjays
  And simply loathed his father's brother.

He never missed a chance to spurn
  Polonius with spiteful mocking,
While Rosencrantz and Guildenstern,—
  The way he used those boys was shocking!

He acted like the only one
  In all the planets' perihelia;
And telling her to be a nun
  Showed scant affection for Ophelia.

What *did* he like? A ghostly shade,
  His late lamented father's double,
Which told malicious lies that made
  The family a heap of trouble.

I doubt if William Shakespeare's heirs
Or Francis Bacon's give a damnlet,
Or any critic greatly cares,—
  But that's your "mystery of Hamlet!"

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INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

Occuring in the Bibliography of Elizabethan Topics

Published in 1940*

Compiled by RALPH P. ROSENBERG

*Women's names are distinguished by a colon after the baptismal name. The bibliography covered by this Index was published in the January, 1940, issue of this *Bulletin*. Sh = Shakspere.

A

Abridgements, 10991
Acting and actors, 10992-10998, 11007, 11105, 11296, 11412, 11450
Adam, R., 11042
Adams, J. Q., 11106, 11130, 11379
Adaptations, 11364, 11367, 11510
Aesthetics, 11023
Albrecht, J., 11176
Alciati, A., 11119
Aldridge, I., 10993
Alexander, A. G., 11265
Alexander, P., 11028, 11073
Allen, D. C., 11086, 11097, 11225, 11250, 11322
Allen, M: S, 11415
Allen, N. B., 11385
America, Sh in, 11000-11003, 11236, 11255
Anderson, M: L., 11508
Anderson, R: L., 11076
Antokolskoi, P., 11369
Antony and Cleopatra, 11273
Arlett, V: I., 11166
Armstrong, T. P., 11410
Arthur, J., 11016
Astrology, 11004, 11366
Astronomy, 11005
As You Like It, 11016, 11078, 11274-11277, 11511
Atkinson, B., 11313, 11317, 11367
Auden, W. H., 11094
Austin, W. B., 11151, 11240
Authorship, Sh, 11390, 11404
Autographs, 11006
Azzalino, W., 11232

B

B, A, 11403
Bachofen-Freud, 11338
Bacon, 11008, 11084, 11260, 11341
Bacon-Sh imbroglio, 11007-11018, 111070, 11391
Bain, R., 11440
Baine, R. M., 11377
Baker, H., 11165, 11230, 11405, 11448, 11502, 11507
Baker, H. C., 11117
Baker, H. K., 11030, 11411
Bald, R. C., 11251
Baldwin, C. S., 11140, 11268, 11437, 11473, 11491
Baldwin, T. W., 11408
Ball, R. H., 11248
Ballads, broadside, 11117
Barnes, M: 11449
Baroque, 11104
Barrell, C. W., 11446
Bartholomaeus, Anglicus, 11274
Bartlett, H: C, 11024
Baughan, D. E., 11297, 11474
Beaumont, 11019, 11249
Beckmann, A: T., 11052
Bell, C., 11138
Benjamin, N: 11049
Bennett, R. E., 11132
Bentley, G. E., 11466
Beretz, M., 11361
Bergmann, A., 11180
Bernard, J. E., Jr., 11505
Bhattacharyee, M. M., 11203, 11298
Bhave, Y. D., 11205
Bibliography, 11020-11024
Bidow, H., 11495
Bill, A. H., 11471
Biography, 10007, 10025-11035, 11089, 11181
Boas, G., 11450
Bodleian's First Folio, 11168
Bohet, V., 11069
Bond, R. W., 11316
Book titles, 11036-11055
Booth, E., 10998
Boughner, D. C., 11199, 11241, 11355
Bowers, F. T., 11101, 11135, 11456-11457
Bradbroke, W., 11494
Bray, D., 11396
Brennecke, E., Jr., 11276
Breton, N., 11056, 11475
Bridgewater, H., 11013
Broke, A., 11415
Bronowski, J., 11424

Brooke, T., 11272
Brother Leo, 11460
Brown, B: D., 11242
Brown, B. G., 11195
Brown, I., 11257, 11259, 11262
Buchanan, G., 11469
Bullough, G., 11193
Buning, W. F. W., 11280
Bunnett, R. J. A., 11013
Burger, H., 11398
Burton, 11171, 11260
Bush, D., 11197

C

Cambillard, 11366
Camden, C. C., 11453
Cameron, K. W., 11447
Campbell, O. J., 11406
Campion, Thomas, 11057
Cartier, 11007
Casson, T. E., 11503
Catalani, G., 11496
Cawley, R., 11107
Cervantes and Sh, 11324
Chamberlain, F., 11153
Chambers, D., 11051
Chambers, R. W., 11392
Chambrun, C: L. de, 11026
Chapman, G., 11058-11061, 11104, 11130
Chapman, J. A., 11433
Characters, Age of Sh's, 11078, 11087
Charell, E, 11367
Charlton, H. B., 11069, 11357
Chew, S. C., 11079
Child, H. H., 11044
Children, Sh and, 10991, 11344
Chronology, Sh, 11388, 11390
Chubb, T. C., 11211
Claireau, H: 11291
Clark, D. L., 11206, 11437
Clark, E. G., 11100
Clemens, Samuel, 11255
Closs, A., 11504
Coffin, M., 11005
Cole, G. D., and M: 11041
Cole, J. W., 11386
Coleman, E. D., 11215
Coleridge and Sh, 11314
Colman and Garrick, 11364
Comedy, 11062-11064, 11069, 11092, **11247, 11411**
Comedy of Errors, 11278-11280, 11512
Comical Satyre and Sh's 'Troilus and Cressida', 11406
Commentary, 11065-11096, 11062, 11104
Congleton, J. E., 11442
Contemporaries, 11080, 11097-11099, 11106
Contemporary drama, 11100-11108, 11076
Contemporary poetry, 11109-11117
Contemporary prose, 11116, 11118-11119
Coon, A. M., 11136
Coriolanus, 11052, 11281-11283, 11435, 11512
Cornell, K: 10992
Cosmic identities, Doctrine of, 11086
Craig, H., 11021, 11285, 11459
Criminology, 11345-11346, 11373, 11382
Criss, M., 11497
Crundell, H. W., 11323, 11389-11390
Cryptography, 11009
Curtis, G. B., 11189
Customs, 11120

D

d'Amico, S., 11296
D'Avenant, William, 11121
Davies, John, 11122
Davies, W. R., 10994
Davis, F. C., 11048
Davis, R. B., 11098
Deetjen, W., 11182
Dekker, Thomas, 11123-11130, 11198
Dickson, G. B., 11099
Dictionaries, 11235
Dodds, M. H., 11087, 11307, 11349
Donne, John, 11131-11139, 11221
Dowlin, C. M., 11476
Draat, P. F. v.,11333
Drake-Carnell, F. J., 11120
Drama, 11076, 11095, 11140-11141
Drant, Spenser, and Queen Elizabeth, 11478
Draper, J. W., 11077, 11274, 11282, 11287, 11293, 11372, 11376, 11384, 11399
Drayton, Michael, 11142-11146
Dukes, A., 11412
Dumbshow, The, 11292
Dunlap, A. R., 11370
Dunn, E: C., 11001, 11003
D'Urfey, Thomas, 11147
Dutch translation of Sh, 11280

E

Eagle, R. L., 11259, 11388, 11391
Eccles, M., 11127
Edgelow, M, 11434
Editions, Sh, 11416a, 11448-11449, 11510-11512
Editors, Editing, 11148-11150, 11416a, 11448-11449, 11510-11512
Education, 11151
Eicke, W. A., 11210
Einarsson, S., 11201
Eliot, T. S., 11133
Elizabeth, Queen, 10995, 11152-11153, 11240, 11478
Elizabethan revival, 11261

Elliott, G. R., 11279
Ellis-Fermor, U: 11246
Emendations, 11312
Environment, 11154-11158
Erasmus, 11159-11164
Eschenburg's translation of Sh, 11183
Ethics, 11059, 11165
Evans, M., 11313, 11317, 11319
Everett, A. L., 11031
Ewen, C. L., 11455
Ewing, S. B., Jr., 11171
Exner, H., 11162

F

Facsimiles, Sh, 11408
Farjeon, H., 11512
Faust legend, 11246
Faustus, Magus, and Marlowe, 11242
Fearon, G., 11259, 11262
Feibleman, J., 11064
Fellowes, E. H., 11057
Feudal manners in Sh, 11203
Fictionised, 11166-11167
Finkel, M., 10993
Fischer, B., 11045
Fischer, W., 11231
Fisher, H. K., 11300
Fisher, M: 11252
Fletcher, John, 11019, 11035, 11249
Folio, Bodleian, 11168
Ford, F. M., 11096
Ford, John, 11068, 11169, 11171
Ford, L., 11047
Forkey, L. O., 11269
Fox, A., 11421
France, Sh in, 11172-11174, 11303, 11337
Frank, W., 11091
Franz, W., 11234
Freyer, G., 11213
Friedland, L. S., 11115
Fripp, E. I., 11025
'Fustian,' Elizabethan 11100

G

G., J., 11345
Garrick, David, 11175, 11340, 11364
Geoghegan, H., 11330
Germany, Sh in, 11176-11185, 11289, 11281, 11343, 11397
Gervinus, Bacon, and S, 11008
Gielgud, J., 10996
Gilbert, A. H., 11058
Gilbert, F., 11209
Gildemeister, O., 11504
Gilder, R: 11317
Gill, W. W., 11335
Gilpin, E., 11132
Glendening, L., 11017
Glunz, H. H., 11308, 11383, 11445
Goldman, M. S., 11467
Goll, A., 11345-11346, 11373, 11382
Goodyear, S., 11036
Gorboduc, 11448-11449
Gosson, S., 11097, 11237
Gottfried, R., 11485
Graham, C. B., 11218
Grange, J., 11116
Gray, M. M., 10995
Greene, Robert, 11186-11192a
Greg, W. W., 11285
Greville, F., 11193
Grillparzer, Sh and, 11207
Groom, B., 11302
Guazzo, 11119, 11192, 11508
Guicciardini, 11209
Guiney, L: I., 11111, 11217
Gurland, I., 11334

H

Habgood, F. E. C., 11012
Hackett, F., 11325
Hadas, M., 11465
Haedens, K., 11303
Hall, J., 11014
Halstead, W. L., 11123-11125, 11128-11129
Hamlet, 11039, 11040, 11042, 11047-11048, 11050, 11053, 11284-11315, 11511-11512
Hampden, J., 11299
Hannigan, J. E., 11360
Hanson, V: 11050
Harbage, A., 10999
Hardman, D., 11074
Harker, F., 11306
Harrison, G. B., 11029, 11156
Harrison, T. P., Jr., 11487
Hastings, W. T., 11103, 11208, 11511
Hauptman, Sh and, 11179
Hawaii, Sh and, 11283
Headley, H., 11261
Henderson, W. B. D., 11337
Henry IV, 11077-11078, 11316-11324
Henry VIII, 11325
Henshaw, M., 11022
Henslowe's dairy, 11130
Herbert, G., 11194-11196
Heyer, G: 11053
Heyn, W., 11301
Heywood, J., 11447
Heywood, Thomas, 11111, 11126, 11197-11198
Hicks, F. W. P., 11362
Hill, R. [ed.], 11510
Hill, R., 11106
Hollybrand, C., 11151
Holmes, J., 11419

Hooker, R., 11199
Howarth, R. G., 11061
Huck, R., 11289
Hulbert, V: B., 11480
Hungary, Sh in, 11200
Hunter, E. R., 11090
Hussey, D., 11270
Hutchinson, F. E., 11194
Hutchison, P., 11248

I

Ibsen, Sh and, 11288
Iceland, Sh in, 11201
India, Sh in, 11202-11205, 11298
Influence, Sh's, 11206-11207, 11294
Ireland, Wm. H., 11208
Italy, Sh in, 11062, 11209-11213, 11270

J

Jackson, D., 11429
Jackson, W. A., 11115
Jacobean Age, 11154
Jacobean playwrights, 11103
Jaggard, W., 11494
Japan, Sh in, 11214
Jeanne d'Arc, 11172
Jenkins, H., 11271
John, L. C., 11112
Jestbooks, 11118
Jews, 11215-11216, 11354-11361
Johnson, F. R., 11005
Jones, H. S. V., 11484
Jones, O., 11184
Jonson, Ben, 11076, 11104, 11217-11229
Julius Caesar, 11054, 11326-11332, 11511

K

Kastendieck, M., 11057
Kean, E., 10997
Kellett, E. E., 11350
Kentish-Wright, U., 11475
Khrenikov, T., 11369
King John, 11043
King Lear, 11333, 11427
Kittredge, G. L., 11277, 11315, 11332, 11353, 11368, 11402, 11511
Klein, D., 11326
Kleinschmidt, O., 11426
Knappen, M. M., 11458
Knight, G. W., 11239, 11441
Knox, R. S., 11092
Kocher, P. H., 11404
Krauss, W., 11159
Krieger, H., 11281
Kroepelin, H., 11185, 11452
Kyd, Thomas, 11076, 11104, 11111, 11230-11231, 11311

L

L., G. G., 11481
L., L., 11295
Laforgue, J., 11303
Lalow, R., 11081
Langdale, A. B., 11035
Language, 11232-11236, 11335, 11409, 11489, 11500
Lanyon, C: L., 11263
Larsen, T., 11253
Latham, A: M. C., 11454
Law, R. A., 11192a
Lawrence, W. W., 11304
Lazenby, C., 11183
Leaf, M., 11387
Legouis, É, 11365
Leishman, J. B., 11393
Leith, A: A, 11008
Lemaître, J., 11015
Lennep, W. B. V., 11312
Leo, Brother, 11460
Levin, H., 11228
Lewis, B. R., 11025
Lewis, C. S., 11425
Leycester, 11153
Lievsay, J. L., 11119, 11192
Limited Editions Club's Sh, 11149, 11512
Lind, L. R., 11266
Littlewood, S. R., 11095
Loane, G. C., 11060
Lockridge, R., 11317
Lodge, Thomas, 11111, 11237
London, 11238, 11243, 11252
Long, E. H., 11236
Love's Labour's Lost, 11078, 11340-11341
Lyceum, End of the, 11309
Lyly, John, 11239-11241

M

Mabbott, T. O., 11223
Macbeth, 11038, 11044, 11045, 11067, 11342-11353, 11511
MacCarthy, D., 11309
Machiavelli, 11209-11213
MacLeish, A., 11423
Magus, Marlowe, and Faustus, 11242
Mair, J., 11208
Malone, E., 11150
Mandin, L., 11371
Mann, W., 11273
Manuscripts, Sh, 11032
Marcu, V., 11211
Marks, S., 11006
Marlowe, C., 11242-11246
Marriot, J., 11456
Marston, John, 11104, 11219, 11247
Masque, 11102, 11105
Massinger, Philip, 11019, 11248-11249

Masson, A., 11267
Mathew, D., 11154
Matthes, H. C., 11164, 11250
Maxwell, B., 11019, 11249, 11285
McAnally, A. M., 11102
McCain, H. E., 11318
McCormick, V. T., 11509
McGinn, D. J., 11294
McIlwraith, A. K., 11121
McKerrow, R. B., 11148, 11284, 11329, 11499
McManaway, J. G., 11312
McNeal, T. H., 11191
Measure for Measure, 11046, 11512
Meine, F. J., 11255
Meissner, P., 11105, 11107
Melbancke, 11097
Melsome, W. S., 11011
Menon, C. N., 11202, 11204
Merchant of Venice, 11036, 11055, 11354-11361
Mercury Sh, The, 11510
Meres, F., 11250
Merry Wives of Windsor, 11037, 11078, 11362
Messiaen, P., 11034, 11320, 11374
Metz, R., 11139
Michie, S: 11479
Middleton, Thomas, 11251-11254
Midsummer Night's Dream, 11363-11368, 11511-11512
Millican, C. B., 11478, 11486, 11489-11490
Mills, D: 11157
Milne, W. S., 11352
Milton, 11145, 11350
Mirror concept, 11076
Mirror for Magistrates, The, 11109
Miscellanea, 11255-11265
Modder, M. F., 11216
Montaigne, M., 11266-11269, 11337
Moore, J. R., 11413
Moore, Sir Thomas, 11383
Moore, Sir Thomas, 11388-11392
Morgan, C., 11344
Morgan, R: 11314
Moritzen, J., 11345-11346, 11373, 11382
Morley, Sh and, 11276, 11413
Morozov, M., 11463
Mounts, C. E., 11488
Moura, J., 11172
Mouthpieces, Sh's, 11090
Much Ado About Nothing, 11369
Mueller, W., 11141
Muir, K., 11027
Mulcaster, Spenser and, 11490
Murray, J., 11251
Murry, J. M., 11195
Music, 11270, 11276, 11278, 11340, 11367, 11369
Myers, H. A., 11427
Myrick, K. O., 11467

N

Nash, C. A., 11160
Nesbit, E: 10991
Nethercot, A. H., 11121
Neumann, J. H., 11226
New Cambridge Sh, The, 11416a
Nicoll, A., 11105, 11175
Norman, C., 11243
Normand, Lord, 11358
Norway, Sh in, 11288
Noyes, G: E., 11235

O

O'Connor, W. V., 11063
Octosyllabic couplet, 11113
Odell, G. C. D., 11492
O'Loughlin, S., 11027
Orennecke, O., 11413
Osler on Sh, Bacon, and Burton, 11260
Othello, 11067, 11370-11377, 11512
Oxford Sh, 11148, 11499

P

Painter, W., 11197
Parker, W. R., 11114
Parrott, T. M., 11285
Patterns in Sh, 11092
Paulin, D: M., 11432
Paulun, D., 11290
Payne, B. I., 11305, 11451
Peele, George, 11271-11272
Perkinson, R. H., 11122, 11336
Perry, H. T. E., 11062, 11229, 11247
Pessimism in the Renaissance, 11066
Petersen, J., 11443, 11501
Pettie, 11187
Phelps, W. L., 11089
Photography, 11401
Pinto, V. de S., 11316
Pirkhofer, A. W., 11202
Plays, 11273-11377, 11380-11392, 11398, 11418
Plowman, M., 11342
Pneumatology, 11108, 11233
Poems, 11378-11379
Poetics, 11064, 11071, 11095, 11131, 11139, 11250, 11302, 11329, 11419-11444
Politics, 11435, 11445
Pollard, A. W., 11024
Porterfield, A. W., 11262
Portraits, 11446
Praz, M., 11219
Predecessors, 11165, 11447-11449
Preusler, W., 11179

Price, H. T., 11500
Producing Sh, 11176, 11283, 11296, 11313, 11317, 11319, 11356, 11450-11452, 11493
Psychology, 11282, 11298, 11307, 11334, 11338, 11365, 11376, 11399, 11453
Punctuation poems, 11363
Purves, J., 11212
Pyles, T., 11285

Q

Queen Elizabeth, 10995, 11152-11153 11240, 11478

R

Radlov, S., 11493
Raleigh, Walter, 11454-11455
Randolph, Thomas, 11456-11457
Rathborne, I: E., 11484
Rattray, R. F., 11195
Reformation, 11160
Rathkey, W. A., 11339
Reichert, W. A., 11179
Reilly, H: 11039
Religion, 11458-11460
Restoration comedy, 11218
Rice, S., 11204
Richard II, 11142, 11380-11381
Richard III, 11041, 11382
Ridley, M. R., 11428
Ringler, W., 11237
Robbins, R. H., 11363
Roberts, B: E., 11052
Robertson, J., 11056
Rockingham, 11414
Rokotov, T., 11083
Rollins, H. E., 11116, 11378
Romeo and Juliet, 11051, 11078, 11384-11387
Rook, W. A., 11362
Rosenbach, A. S. W., 11002
Rossiter, A. P., 11329
Rowe, K. T., 11468, 11472
Rowse, A. L., 11109
Rugoff, M. A., 11139
Russel, R: W., 11477
Russia, Sh in, 11082, 11461,-11464

S

Sachar, A. L., 11055
Sachs, W., 11291
Saleski, R. E., 11233
Salinger, H., 11207
Salter, C. H., 11435
Sanderlin, G., 11394
Sandys, G., 11098
Schlegel, Sh and 11183
Schmidt, W., 11069, 11177, 11383, 11409
Schücking, L. L., 11023, 11104, 11231, 11293
Schümmer, K., 11178
Scott, Sh and, 11085
Sedgwick, R. W., 10992
Seifert, A: 11043
Seldes, G., 11367
Seligo, I., 11010
Seneca, 11449, 11465, 11476
Sensabaugh, G. F., 11169-11170
Shelley, Sh and, 11206
Shevchenko, T., 10993
Shirley, Jas., 11466
Short, R. W., 11220
Sibley, A: M., 11133
Sidney, Philip, 11297, 11467-11474
Siebeck, B: 11471
Simpson, E: 11221, 11228
Simpson, P., 11224, 11227
Sir Thomas Moore, 11383
Sir Thomas Moore, 11388-11392
Skinner, O., 10998
Small, S. A., 11321
Smalley, D., 11059
Smallwood, O: 11356
Smith, D. N., 11150
Smith, E. L., 11054
Smith, J., 11244
Smith, J. C., 11085
Smith, M., 11431, 11436
Smith, R. M., 11168
Social themes, 11062, 11247
Sondheim, M., 11004
Sonnet(s), 11114, 11393-11397, 11426
Sonnet sequences, 11112, 11396
Sources, 11274, 11328, 11415, 11475-11476
Spain, Sh in 11324
Spanish Renaissance, 11159
Spencer, B. T., 11027, 11033, 11065
Spencer, T., 11131, 11417
Spenser, Edmund, 11115, 11477-11491
Spiegelberger, W., 11327
Staedler, E., 11328
Stage history, 10996, 11002, 11105, 11176, 11358, 11380, 11492
Staging, 11105, 11176, 11296, 11398, 11412, 11450, 11452, 11493
Stanley, T., 11466
Starnes, D. T., 11407
St. Clair, F. Y., 11144
Stein, E: 11175
Stevenson, Sh and, 11264
Steward, D. H., 11438
Stoll, E. E., 11067, 11068, 11080, 11275, 11311, 11359
Stone, G. W., Jr., 11340, 11364
Stonley, K., 11447
Stopes, M. C., 14444

Stratford-on-Avon, 11262, 11494-11495
Stroedl, W., 11176
Stuart, Mary, 11496-11497
Sullivan, F., 11254
Supernatural, 11108, 11233
Swift, Sh and, 11088
Swinburne on Thomas Middleton, 11253

T

Taming of the Shrew, 11398-11399
Tannenbaum, S. A., 11020, 11032, 11126, 11190, 11198, 11286, 11310, 11351, 11375, 11416a, 11506
Teaching Sh, 11265, 11498
Tempest, The, 11049, 11087, 11400-11402, 11511
Textual, 11499-11501
Thaler, A., 11214
Thiel, R., 11504
Thomas, 11238
Thompson, E. N. S., 11113, 11196
Thomson, W., 11393
Thornley, 11238
Thorson, P., 11348
Tieck, Sh and, 11343
Tillotson, K: 11027, 11112, 11142-11143, 11146, 11396
Tillyard, E. M. W., 11292, 11425
Timon of Athens, 11403-11404
Tinker, E. L., 11149
Titus Adronicus, 11405
Tolstoi, Sh and, 11464
Tottel's *Miscellany,* 11114
Tragedy, 11063, 11141, 11502-11503, 11405
Trahard, P., 11420
Translations, 11504, 11183-11184, 11280, 11343, 11397, 11504
Traub, W., 11273
Traversi, D. A., 11072, 11395
Troilus and Cressida, 11406-11409
Trout, A. L., 11347
Turel, A., 11338, 11464
Turgenev, Sh and, 11082
Twain, Mark, 11255
Twelfth Night, 11276, 11410-11414
Two Gentlemen of Verona, 11415-11416a
Two Noble Kinsmen, 11417
Typography, Elizabethan, 11189

U

Ustick, W. L., 11147
Utterback, E: I., 11188

V

Van der Noot, J., 11115
Vandiver, E. P., Jr., 11264
Van Doren, M., 11075, 11093, 11094, 11131
Vaudoyer, J. L., 11173
Verdi, Sh and, 11270
Verse, 11113, 11443, 11505-11507
Vincent, C. J., 11186-11187
Vincent, H. P., 11222
Vincent, R., 11038
Voigt, F. A., 11179

W

Wachter, E., 11018
Waldorf, W: 11317
Walker, A: 11025-11026, 11107, 11294
Walker, N. W. G., 11400
Walter, J. H., 11470
Walters, P., 11014
Washburn, O. R., 11040
Wasserman, E. R., 11261
Watkins, W. B., 11088
Watson, S: R, 11145
Watts, R., Jr., 11317
Webster, John, 11104, 11128, 11508
Weigelin, E., 11301
Weingarten, S., 11498
Weinheber, J., 11430
Welles, O., 11510
Wells, H. W., 11103
Welply, H., 11414
Weninger, L. F., 11331
West, R. H., 11108
Westfall, A. V. R., 11000
Whicher, G. F., 11003
Whipple, S. B., 11317
White, C: 11418
White, W., 11260
Whitney, E. A., 11163
Wieland, Sh and, 11183
Wilkins, G., 11099

Wilkinson, B., 11381
Williams, A. L., 11066
Williams, F. B., Jr., 11155
Williamson, G., 11134
Wilson, E. C., 11152
Wilson, F. P., 11118
Wilson, J. D., 11158, 11380
Winston, R., 11211
Winter, J. W., 11343
Winter's Tale, The, 11087, 11418
Wolff, G., 11397
Wollenberg, R., 11181
Wolthuis, G. W., 11245
Women, 10994, 11509
Wood, F. T., 11175
Works, 11510-11512
Wright, L. H., 11466
Wriothesley, Sh and, 11393
Wyatt, E. R., 11278
Wylie, I. A. R., 11167
Wyneken, H., 11324

Y

Yates, H: E., 11037
Yolland, A., 11200

Z

Zucker, A. E., 11288

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ASCHAM'S *SCHOLEMASTER* AND SPENSER'S FEBRUARY ECLOGUE

By SIDNEY ROSENZWEIG

DR. P. W. LONG offered a homily of John Young, Bishop of Rochester, as the source of the fable of the Oak and the Briar in Spenser's February Eclogue.[1] He maintained that the homily provided the poet with the "germ of the fable." This proposed source, however, reveals no verbal parallel to the Eclogue beyond the mention of the briar. In his masterly study of Spenser's fables, Dr. L. S. Friedland pointed out[2] many analogues to this tale in folk-lore and in Aesop, Chaucer, Geffrey and Whitney, among others.[2] But none of these, Dr. Friedland demonstrated, is the source of Spenser's poem, which reverses the more usual story of the proud Oak and the humble Reed. "By a species of inversion Spenser imparts an entirely new form to the ancient and familiar fable,"[3] and he did not find "a single instance of a similar reversal of rôles: the Oak abashed and humble, the Briar captious and disdainful," before Spenser's handling of the theme.[4] I wish, therefore, to call attention to the striking resemblance between the February Eclogue and a section of Ascham's *Scholemaster*.[5]

The poet's knowledge of Ascham's book at the time of publication of *The Shepheardes Calendar* is confirmed by the Harvey-Spenser letters,[6] and Ascham's experiments with classical meters, though criticized by Harvey and Spenser, may well have been a factor in their own labors. Ascham's work had gone through several editions, one published in 1579.

In the course of his discussion of imitation, Ascham is led into some lively reminiscences of the progress of learning at Cambridge.[7] He first takes occasion to defend vigorously Nicholas Metcalfe, master of St. John's College, who, though a Catholic, had left the university far richer in money and scholarship than it had ever been. But the ascension of Mary and the restoration of Catholicism brought a severe alteration in the state of learning. Ascham's description of the effects of Catholic rule contains one

parallel to Spenser's fable.[8] Order and sound education were restored to the university by Elizabeth, and Ascham ends the digression with the prediction that a finer crop of scholars will spring up under the guidance of the new Chancellor of Cambridge, Sir William Cecil, later Lord Burghley. Another striking similarity to the tale appears here.[9]

I have arranged the principal evidence in parallel columns, italicizing similar and significant words. The first section quoted from the Eclogue is the young Briar's complaint to the Husbandman against the aged Oak. The second group of quotations describes the Husbandman's felling of the Oak and the subsequent destruction of the unprotected Briar.

I

The February Eclogue, ll. 163-85.

Ah my soueraigne, Lord of creatures all,
Thou placer of *plants* both humble and tall,
Was I not planted of thine own hand,
To be the primrose *of all thy land,*
With flowring blossomes, to furnish the prime,
And scarlot berries in sommer time?
How falls it then, that this faded Oake,
Whose bodie is sere, whose braunches broke,
Whose naked Armes stretch *vnto the fyre.*
Vnto such tyrannie doth aspire:
Hindering with his *shade* my louely light,
And robbing me of the swete sonnes *sight?*
So beate his old boughes my tender side,
That oft the bloud springeth from woundes wyde:
Vntimely my flowres forced to fall,
That bene *the honor of* your Coronall.

I

The Scholemaster, pp. 165-66.

Since which tyme the *yong sprtng* hath shot up so faire, as now there be in Cambrige againe many goodly plantes (as did well appeare at the Queenes Majesties late being there) which are like to grow *mightie great timber,* to *the honor of* learning and great good of their contrie, if they may stand their tyme, as he best plantes there were wont to do: and if som *old dotterell trees* with standing over nie them and *dropping upon them* do not either *hinder,* or crooke their growing, wherein my feare is the less, seeing so worthie a Justice . . . hath the present *oversight of that whole chace,* who was himselfe somtym, in the fairest spring that ever was there of learning, one of the forwardest *yong plantes* in all that worthy College of S. Johnes: who now by grace is growne to soch greatnesse, as in the temperate and quiet *shade* of his wisdome . . . .

Compare also the description (p. 163) of the trees that "were *cast*

And oft he lets his cancker wormes *light*
Vpon my braunches, to worke me more spight:
And oft his hoarie locks downe doth *cast,*
Where with my fresh flowretts bene defast.
For this, and many more such outrage,
Crauing your goodlihead to aswage
The ranckorous rigour *of his might.*

To the above may be added E. K.'s gloss on l. 146. The poet writes that the Husbandman came to survey his land and his "trees of state." E. K. explains this phrase as "taller trees fitte for *timber* wood." Note, moreover, that Ascham contrasts the young trees with the old. In the poem, of course, the Briar represents youth and the Oak age.

II
The February Eclogue.

Ll. 201-02.
But *to the roote* bent his sturdy stroke,
And made many wounds in the wast Oake.

Ll. 217-19.
In fine the steele had *pierced* his pitth,
Tho *downe to he earth* he fell forthwith:
His wonderous weight made *the grounde* to quake.

Ll. 222 ff.
Now stands the Brere like a Lord alone,
Puffed vp with pryde and vaine pleasaunce:
But all this glee had no continuaunce.
For eftsones Winter gan to approche,
The blustring Boreas did encroache
And beat evpon the solitaire *into the fire."*

II
The Scholemaster, p. 163.

. . . not onely the two faire groves of learning in England were eyther *cut up by the roote, or troden downe to the ground* and wholelie went to wracke, but the yong spring there, and everie where else, was *pitifullie nipt* and *overtroden by* very *beastes,* and also the fairest *standers* of all were rooted up.

Brere . . .
For naked left and disconsolate,
The byting frost *nipt* his stalke dead,
The watrie wette weighed downe his head,
And heaped snowe burdned him so sore,
That nowe vpright he can *stand* no more:
And being downe, is *trodde* in the durt
Of cattell, and brouzed, and *sorely* hurt.

These sentences of Ascham contain more than the ungerminated seed; though Ascham does not name his trees, his sentences embody the almost fully developed form of the fable as it appears in Spenser. And he anticipates Spenser's inversion of the roles of the old and young tree, which was the poet's most notable departure from the traditional story.

Furthermore, the verbal reminiscences are numerous. We must make allowances for the fact that if two authors are writing on the same subject, certain words will inevitably be the same, no matter how independent they are of each other. Such words as "tree" and "plant" rise naturally out of the context and by themselves prove nothing. But the accumulation of echoes that are not necessarily due to the nature of the themes is impressive. There are more scattered through the poem. Spenser's introduction of the Queen into the tale (l. 132) may have been suggested by Ascham's parenthetical mention of "the Queenes Majesties late being there" (p. 165). More important are the characterization and description of the two trees. The young tree is

> a bragging brere
> Which proudly thrust into Thelement,
> And seemed to threat the Firmament. (ll. 115-17)

This has the ring of Ascham's praise of Cecil turned to the poet's own uses: "One of the forwardest yong plantes . . . who now by grace is growne to soch greatnesse" (p. 165). And it may or not be a matter of import that in *The Ruines*

of Time (ll. 447 ff.) Cecil is likened to an aged tree that chokes off all the growth about it. There may be another echo of Ascham in the pastoral scene that takes place about the Briar:

> And thereto aye wonned to repayre
> The shepheards daughters, to gather flowres. (ll. 118-19)

E. K.'s gloss on "wonned" reads "to *haunt* or frequent;" Ascham's typically Elizabethan harangue against the Catholics carries the same tone of moral self-righteousness: "honest pastimes joyned with labor left of in the fieldes: unthrifty and idle games *haunted* corners, and occupied the nightes" (p. 165).

We are on safer ground in tracing the portrayal of the Oak to Ascham. Scholars have generally limited the discussion of the Oak's Catholicism to ll. 207-13 of the poem, overlooking a barbed allusion at the beginning of the tale. Thus it is commonly assumed that the fable is disjointed by this awkward obtrusion upon the development of the story. But in the first description of the Oak the metaphor "his toppe" was bald" (l. 113), which stands out against the other features like an exaggerated nose in a Nazi cartoon, may be a reference to priestly tonsure. The image seems to recall Ascham's sketch of the "hedge prieste" with "hys crowne shorne faire and roundlie" (pp. 163, 164). The Briar first chides the Oak with being useless: "Nor the *fruict,* nor for *shadowe* serves thy stocke" (l. 128). He complains later to the Husbandman that the Oake's *"Shade"* (l. 173) robs him of the sunlight. Taken together (and they are a variation of one theme), these lines match Ascham's "and what was the *frute* of this seade?" (p. 164), and "quiet shade" (p. 166). E. K. is too Protean to be summoned as an absolutely reliable witness, but he does help to round out the deposition. The Oak, the poet says, "little him answered" (actually he says nothing), for he was "with shame and greefe *adawed"* (l. 141). E. K. explains "adawed" to mean "daunted and *confounded."* Compare Ascham's testimony regarding the Catholic administration of Cambridge: "the choice of good authors of malice *confownded"* (p. 164). While Ascham was no less anti-papist than Spenser, he, nevertheless, reverences the memory of

Metcalfe, who had been driven from the university because of his opposition to royal supremacy in religion. There would be more than a hint here for the poet's association of Catholicism with the cause of the Oak's downfall. At the same time, Ascham's generous treatment of Metcalfe might conceivably have given Spenser another example for imitation. This view is buttressed by the single favorable epithet applied to the Oak; at the opening the poet writes of the tree as "a *goodly* Oake" (l. 103), later as "the *good* Oake (l. 126). The following statistics will help to prove the point. In the seven and a half pages of Ascham's digression "good" or "goodness" appears twenty-five times; in six of these instances the words are applied to Metcalfe, counting as one the expressive pleonasm "this good mans goodnes." Moreover, in connection with Metcalfe the phrase "good *olde*" occurs once (p. 160). But the clinching bit of evidence is that Ascham uses the same adjective as Spenser, and in the same context, when writing of "the *goodly* plantes . . . which are like to grow to mightie timber" (p. 165). The imagination of the poet seems to have blended Ascham's allusions to Metcalfe, old age, and Catholicism with the fable of the trees.

It is not certain whether this suggested source will throw new light on the long-disputed problem of the allegory.[11] Metcalfe, having died in 1539, comes much too early to be the subject of Spenser's poem in 1579 or thereabout. But the Harvey-Spenser correspondence shows that Harvey kept his young friend informed of affairs at Cambridge.[12] It is a reasonable assumption that Spenser, three years after his departure from Cambridge, was still sufficiently interested in his *alma mater* to memorialize an academic incident or figure. Certainly the November Eclogue reveals the poet's opinion of the interpendence of poetry and learning,[13] *Mother Hvbberds Tale* his solicitude for the advancement of education,[14] and *The Faerie Qveene* his continued interest in the "learned impes" of the universities.[15] No name suggests itself at present, but a search through the records of Cambridge may turn up a person of the poet's generation who met with a situation analogous to that of Metcalfe.[16]

However that may be, the evidence seems to indicate that

Spenser knew this famous passage of Ascham at least as well as Tom Nashe, who, in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon,* borrowed liberally from it. Spenser clarified, altered, and added many details. He delineated the character of the trees, conceiving the "yong Spring" in a very different light from Ascham, and arranged the plot in clearer outline. In fact, he made of it one of the most skilfully etched short tales of the period.[17]

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[1]*PMLA,* XXXI (1916), 727-28.

[2]*SAB,* XII (1937), 97-108. One need not accept Mr. Friedland's interpretation of this fable to appreciate the freshness with which he marshals his abundant materials. In agreement with W. L. Renwick, Mr. Friedland reads the disputed reference to Catholicism (ll. 207-13 of the Eclogue) as an allusion to survivals of tree-worship.

[3]P. 98.

[4]P. 101.

[5]*The Scholemaster,* ed. Mayor (London, 1863), pp. 160-66.

[6]*Poetical Works,* ed. Smith and Selincourt (London, 1926), pp. 623, 630, 635, 640.

[7]Ascham's reminiscences became commonplaces among university men or writers on the universities. This passage of his book was echoed by Thomas Wilson, Harvey, Mulcaster, and (scornfully) by Bacon; Nashe's address "to the Gentlemen students of both Universities," prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon,* is perhaps the most widely known.

[8]*Scholemaster,* pp. 163-64.

[9]Pp. 165-66.

[10]"Priestes" actually appears in the poem, l. 209; to this may be appended the likeness between Spenser's "foolerie" (l. 211) and Ascham's "trifles" (p. 165), both referring to Catholicism.

[11]W. L. Renwick, *The Shepherd's Calendar* (London, 1930), p. 182, denies there is any problem.

[12]*Poetical Works,* pp. 620-23.

[13]Ll. 29-30, Cf. *M. H. T.,* ll. 759 ff.

[14]Ll. 379, 717, and 829 ff.

[15]IV,, xi, 26, 34. For more of Spenser's statements on education and learning, see *A View of the Present State of Ireland,* ed. Renwick (London, 1934), pp. 201-02; *F. Q.* II, iii, 40; II, ix, 48, 53; IV, ii, 1, 2; VI, Proem, 2.

[16]The ubiquitous Burghley conveniently intrudes upon the scene in the capacity of Chancellor of Cambridge University. Furthermore, in *The Rvines of Time* (11, 447 ff.) Spenser, employing again the arboreal imagery of the February Eclogue, attacks Burghley as an enemy of learning (l. 440) and poetry. But until some one is found to qualify for the rôle of the goodly Oak, it would be most judicious to hold in abeyance Burghley's candidacy for the rôle of the Briar. J. J. Higginson, *Spenser's Shepherds Calender in Relation to Contemporary affairs* (Columbia University Press, 1912), pp. 51 ff., proposes Burghley as the Briar, but in connection with court intrigue.

[17]Spenser's version of the tale may have some bearing on one of Shakspere's references to the story. To Mr. Friedland's list of Shakspere's allusions to the fable should be appended *3 Henry VI,* V, ii, 11-15. Mr. Friedland states that "whereas Whitney's emblems may have some relation to the one by Spenser, the other contemporay references to the fable of the Tree and the Reed are as a rule simple allusions to a traditional and proverbial tale" (*Shake. Assoc. Bulletin,* p. 100). This does not apply to the fable as used by Shakspere in Warwick's speech. In common with Spenser, Shakspere depicts the tree (a cedar) as kind and protective, and there are one or two verbal likenesses, which, however, are not decisive.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER AND SHAKSPERE*

By EDWARD P. VANDIVER, JR.

I

IN Cooper's novels more than eleven hundred lines are quoted from Shakspere. What is even more remarkable is that these lines are drawn from thirty-six plays and from *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece.* The only play not quoted is *Titus Andronicus;* however, Cooper does refer to this play in his letters in such a way as to indicate that he was familiar with it.[1] Strangely enough, the sonnets are apparently not quoted at all. Some of these lines are quoted within the chapters. Most of them, however—about 1,089—appear in 394 places as chapter headings or as mottoes for an entire book or for the introduction to a book.[2]

One might hastily assume that Cooper merely used a book of quotations to secure a suitable Shaksperian line or group of lines for his various chapter headings and that he had only a superficial knowledge of these works. A study of the quotations, however, impresses one with the fact that many of these lines are not well known and would not be found in a book of quotations. For example, Cooper draws upon *2 Henry VI*—one of Shakspere's poorest and least read plays—seventeen times, quoting forty different lines. It seems improbable that he would have used these particular quotations unless he knew this play well, since it would have been much easier to find suitable lines from the well-known plays.

The quotations from *2 Henry VI* and the chapters of the novels in which they appear, follow:

> Why droops my lord, like over-ripen'd corn,
> Hanging the head at Ceres' plenteous load?
> I, ii 1f., in *The Redskins,* II)
>
> Pray God the Duke of York excuse himself!
> (I, iii, 181, in *The Prairie,* XII)

*The purpose of this study is to show Cooper's knowledge of Shakspere, his opinion of Shakspere, his use of many Shaksperian quotations and references in his novels, and his especial indebtedness to *The Tempest* and *The Water-Witch.*

The witch in Smithfield shall be burn'd to ashes,
And you three shall be strangled on the gallows.
(II, iii, 7-8, in *The Prairie,* XXVIII)

Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all.
(III, iii, 31, in *Heidenmauer,* XXVIII)

Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all,
Close up his eyes and draw the curtains close,
And let us all to meditation.
(III, iii, 31-33, in *Lionel Lincoln,* XXIII)

1 Gent. What is my ransom, Master? Let me know.
Mast. A thousand crowns, or else lay down your head.
Mate. And so much shall you give or off goes yours,
(IV, i, 15-17, in *Miles Wallingford,* XIV)

And as for these whose ransoms we have set,
It is our pleasure one of them depart.
Therefore come you with us, and let him go.
(IV, i, 139-141, in *Miles Wallingford,* XV)

Come and get thee a sword, though made of a lath.
They have been up these two days.
(IV, ii, 1-3, in *The Red Rover,* XX)

I tell thee, Jack Cade, the clothier means to dress the commonwealth and turn it and put a new nap upon it.
(IV, ii, 5-7, in *The Redskins,* XV)

And yet it is said, "Labour in thy vocation"; which is as much to say as "Let the magistrates be labouring men"; and therefore should we be magistrates.
(IV, ii, 17-20, in *The Redskins,* XI)

There shall be in England seven half-penny loaves sold for a penny; the three hoop'd pot shall have ten hoops, and I will make it felony to drink small beer. All the realm shall be in common, and in Cheapside shall my palfrey go to grass.
(IV, ii, 70-75, in *The Redskins, XII,* and in *Home as Found,* XV)

Up Fish Street! Down Saint Magnus Corner! Kill and knock down! Throw them into Thames! What noise is this I hear? Dare any be so bold to sound retreat or parley when I command them kill?
(IV, viii, 1-5, in *Lionel Lincoln,* XXVI)

We'll follow Cade! we'll follow Cade!
(IV, viii, 35, in *The Bravo,* XXI, and in *Home as Found,* XIV)

A Clifford! a Clifford! We'll follow the King and Clifford.
(IV, viii, 55, in *The Bravo,* XXII)

> Whom have we here? Buckingham, to disturb me?
> The King hath sent him sure. I must dissemble.
> (V, i, 12-13, in *Miles Wallingford,* XIII)

Cooper could hardly have been able to find fifteen passages in *2 Henry VI* as appropriate captions applying to the events in the various chapters they preface if he had not known the play well; and the same statement can probably be applied to his knowledge of most of, if not all of, the other plays. Indeed, it might be interesting for the Shakspere student to see how many of the following lines—used by Cooper as chapter headings—he can assign to the play in which each occurs or try to find them in a book of familiar quotations:

> Thy reason, dear venom, thy reason.[3]
>
> Dally not with the gods, but get thee gone.[4]
>
> Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits.[5]
>
> Mars dote on you for his novices.[6]
>
> Aye, marry; now unmuzzle your wisdom.[7]
>
> My visor is Philemon's roof; within the house is Jove.[8]
>
> It is raised he hath a mass of treasure.[9]

The play from which Cooper chiefly quotes is *The Merchant of Venice;* then come *The Tempest, Hamlet,* and *Macbeth.* The trial scene in *The Merchant of Venice* he draws upon twelve times. The opening pages of *The Tempest* he also quotes from quite frequently, especially in his sea stories. The brief scene in *Macbeth* in which the hero first sees the Weird Sisters (I, iii) furnishes eight quotations; the charming pastoral scene in *The Winter's Tale* (IV, iv), seven.

In *The Prairie* Cooper begins thirty-three of the thirty-four chapters with Shaksperian lines and uses another quotation on the title-page. The only thing lacking for a perfect count is the heading for chapter twenty-two. Likewise in *The Red Rover* thirty-one of the thirty-two chapters begin with Shakspere; only chapter six fails us. In *The Water-Witch* Shakspere claims thirty-two of the thirty-four chapters.

It is evident that Cooper probably quotes more widely and more often from Shakspere for chapter mottoes than does any other novelist. Scott, for instance, who was steeped in Shakspere, quotes slightly more than six hundred lines for chapter and book mottoes, whereas Cooper quotes almost eleven hundred lines. Both writers quote from thirty-six different plays; but Cooper, unlike Scott, also quotes from *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece.*

Cooper does not always limit himself to literal quotations. Sometimes he essays a pun in the best Shaksperian or Elizabethan manner: for instance, when he writes "native and to the manor born."[10] In addition to quoting, Cooper is also fond of referring to Shaksperian characters to make his statements more vivid. He mentions, among others, the Dromios,[11] Portia and her caskets,[12] Dogberry,[13] Trinculo, and Stephano.[14].

One of the most interesting statements about Shakspere is in *Jack Tier,* where Cooper, before quoting from *Measure for Measure,* places Shakspere above all other writers of secular literature with the exception of Homer and Dante:

> "The great poet of our language, and the greatest that ever lived, perhaps, short of the inspired writers of the Old Testament, and old Homer and Dante, has well reminded us that the "little beetle," in yielding its breath, can "feel a pang as great as when a giant dies."[15]

II

The thirty-two chapter headings in *The Water-Witch* are only part of the interesting Shaksperian elements in the book. In the "Preface" Cooper, having commented on the fact that patroons and estates have practically ceased to exist, follows the statement with one of his favorite quotations from *2 Henry VI:*

> All the realm shall be in common, and in Cheapside shall my palfrey go to grass.[16]

In the opening chapter there is a reference to "the lean and

slippered pantaloon."[17] Especially interesting, in the same chapter, are the words of Lord Cornbury, relative of and former Governor for Queen Anne, who is now imprisoned for debt:

> This is an ill-judged step, Alderman Van Beverout, that lets a gentleman out by night, like the ghost in *Hamlet,* to flee into the narrow house with the crowing of the cock. The ear of my royal cousin hath been poisoned, worse than was the ear of 'murdered Denmark', or the partisans of this Mister Hunter would have little cause to triumph.[18]

The ex-Governor, though financially embarrassed, is rich in his knowledge of *Hamlet,* and shortly before the end of this interview, says to Van Beverout:

> Plutus preserve thee, sir—but have a care; though I scent the morning air, and must return, it is not forbid to tell the secrets of my prison-house.[19]

The audacious seaman, Master Thomas Tiller, reminds one of the boatswain of *The Tempest.* Cooper draws upon lines from the opening scene in *The Tempest* to describe him in the heading for chapter three. Even more Shaksperian is the device of having one of the two important women characters—Eudora—disguised as a handsome young man, whose real identity is not revealed until the last chapter. This situation Cooper uses in two other novels, *The Pilot* and *Jack Tier.* Cooper was also influenced by his knowledge of Ariel in depicting the child Zephyr.

In the "Preface" Cooper refers to *The Water-Witch* as "probably the most imaginative book ever written by the author."[20] Especially is there the suggestion of the supernatural in the rapid movements of the ship, "The Water-Witch", and in the almost uncanny ability of the master and the crew to escape injury and capture. When visitors come to the ship, they find an image of the sea-green lady, whom the crew regards as an oracle and protector. In the hands of the sea-green lady is an oracular book in which the answers to one's questions are to be found. The answers consist of various lines from *The Merchant of Venice, Macbeth, The Tempest* and *Measure for Measure.*[21]

Upon this ship is the ten-year-old boy, Zephyr, whose

form and features are "delicate" and whose attire is "whimsical."[22] After asking the sea-green lady when he may have freedom to go ashore (for he has never been), he is answered with the words of Ariel:

> I pray thee
> Remember, I have done thee worthy service;
> Told thee no lies, made no mistakings, served
> Without or grudge or grumblings.[23]

Zephyr thinks that this answer is made to mock him for it was "very like, though more prettily worded than what I had said myself."[24] The second answer comes from a speech of Prospero to Ariel:

> Thou think'st
> It much to tread the ooze of the salt deep,
> And run upon the sharp wind of the north.[25]

It is evident that Zephyr is delicate and unusual in appearance, that he serves a mistress who is thought to have supernatural power, that he wished freedom (to go on shore for a visit), that his request is like Ariel's to Prospero in thought, that the second answer he receives is taken from Prospero's response to Ariel. In addition to these five similarities between Zephyr and Ariel and their respective situations, we find a sixth in the words of "Master Seadrift" to the boy, who is addressed—as Ariel is addressed by Prospero—as "my tricksy spirit."[26]

"Master Seadrift" not only quotes from *The Tempest* but during the same conversation shows his knowledge of *Henry IV* and Falstaff:

> . . . it becomes a commissioned servant of the crown to use freedom with one who, like the lawless companion of the princely Hal, is but too apt to "rob me the King's Exchequer."[27]

Before the visitors leave, they ask the sea-green lady three questions and receive three answers, each taken from *Measure for Measure*.[28] At this time Master Tiller pays a tribute to Shakspere: "Our mistress deals chiefly in verse from the old writer whose thoughts are almost as common to us all as to human nature." One is tempted to feel that Cooper is here speaking his own thoughts and asserting his own deep knowledge of Shakspere. And a little later Cooper, quoting the last answer of the sea-green lady,

"Proclaim it, Provost, round about the city," remarks that it comes from the "well-known comedy of *Measure for Measure.*"[29]

In this novel is Cooper's interesting comment on the practice of placing Shaksperian quotations at the beginning of his chapters:

> The words of the immortal poet, with which in deference to an ancient usuage in the literature of the language, we have prefaced the incidents to be related in this chapter . . . .[30]

One is also reminded of the weird music of Ariel, in *The Tempest,* when one reads about the music on board the mysterious "Water-Witch"—for example, the following passage:

> After a short and rapid symphony, a wind-instrument took up a wild strain, while a human voice was again heard chanting to the music words, which were so much involved in the composition of the air, as to render it impossible to trace more than that their burden was a sort of mysterious incantation to some ocean deity.[31]

Thus what is "probably the most imaginative book" written by Cooper is full of Shaksperian echoes. It contains scattered widely, more than a hundred lines taken from eighteen Shaksperian plays. It contains an interesting reference to the practice of beginning chapters with Shaksperian quotations. It has a reference to the popularity of *Measure for Measure* and to the greatness of Shakspere. It has a charming young lady who is disguised as a young man. It especially reminds one of *The Tempest:* Master Tiller recalls the impudent boatswain; Zephyr, Ariel; and the sea-green lady and "Master Seadrift", Prospero. The air of mystery and weirdness, including the music, on board the "Water-Witch" suggests the supernatural atmosphere and music of *The Tempest.* In at least seven different places in this book direct quotations from *The Tempest* occur, totalling about seventeen lines. It seems indisputable that Cooper's imagination in the process of creating the story and the characters of *The Water-Witch,* turned again and and again to Shakspere and particularly to *The Tempest.* In fact, this play must have been almost constantly in Cooper's mind; and it may be that this fact accounts for his error in ascribing the lines at the beginning of chapter seventeen.

> Like Arion on the dolphin's back,
> I saw him hold acquaintance with the waves
> So long as I could see—

to *The Tempest* instead of to *Twelfth Night*. At any rate, for this quotation and a great deal else that Cooper put into this book and his other novels he was indebted to Shakspere.

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[1]*The Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper,* ed. by his grandson, James Fenimore Cooper (New Haven, 1922), I, 227.

[2]For aid in collecting and checking these quotations I am indebted to my students: Elizabeth Anderson, Betty Boyd, Margaret Browning, Mary Dudley, Maxine Dunlap, Nancy Eskridge, Virginia Hayes, Elaine Kibler, Louise Kirtz, Frances Rue, Almeyda Spratley, Mary Van Atta, Anne Woodward.

[3]*Heidenmauer,* XVIII.

[4]*The Prairie,* XXI.

[5]*Afloat and Ashore,* title page.

[6]*The Red Rover,* I.

[7]*The Headsmen,* XVII.

[8]*The Prairie,* XVIII.

[9]*The Pioneers,* XXIX.

[10]*Afloat and Ashore* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1883), p. 47.

[11]*Homeward Bound,* p. 89.

[12]*Wyandotte,* p. 407.

[13]*Satanstoe,* p. 207.

[14]*Home as Found,* p. 290.

[15]*Jack Tier,* p. 333.

[16]IV, ii, 74f.

[17]*The Water-Witch,* p. 10.

[18]*Ibid.,* p. 16.

[19]*Ibid.,* p. 22.

[20]*Ibid.,* p. vi.

[21]*Ibid.,* p. 170, 171, 178, 202-204.

[22]*Ibid.,* p. 175f.

[23]*The Tempest,* I, ii, 246-249.

[24]*The Water-Witch,* p. 178.

[25]*The Tempest,* I, ii, 252-254.

[26]*The Water-Witch,* p. 186; *The Tempest,* V, i, 226.

[27]*The Water-Witch,* p. 186.

[28]*Ibid.,* pp. 202-204.

[29]*Ibid.,* p. 204.

[30]*Ibid.,* p. 330.

[31]*Ibid.,* p. 192.

TENNYSON'S EARLIEST SHAKSPERE PARALLELS

By E. A. Mooney, Jr.

THAT Alfred Tennyson read in his childhood the plays of Shakspere is evident from the statements in the *Memoir* by his son.[1] That Tennyson had studied some of the plays thoroughly by his fifteenth year is evident from the Shaksperian echoes in *The Devil and the Lady,* an uncompleted play which he composed at the age of fourteen.[2] Many of the reviewers of *The Devil and the Lady* have referred to the Shaksperian elements in the piece,[3] though no one, except Adolf Füting, in his *Tennyson's Jugenddrama,*[4] has attempted to point out specific parallels.

In this early piece the youthful Tennyson leaned most heavily upon *The Tempest.* Although the "Lady" of Tennyson's title is quite unlike Miranda in character, her situation is analagous to that of Shakspere's heroine.[5] Amoret is guarded from half a dozen would-be lovers by Devil, who is doing the bidding of his master, the necromancer. Miranda is protected by Ariel from Stephano and Caliban. Ariel and Devil both employ magic to do their master's bidding, and both have much fun at the expense of the frustrated suitors.

Although Ariel has none of the saturnine qualities which Tennyson gives to his Devil, the relation between Magus, the magician, and Devil closely parallels that between Prospero and his obedient sprite. In both plays a mortal has complete control over a supernatural being. The speech of Ariel as he first appears before Prospero is the model for the first speech of Devil in Tennyson's play. [Of the parallel passages here quoted, Shakspere's appear first. Shakspere quotations are all from the revised Oxford Standard edition.]

> *I come*
> *To answer thy best pleasure; be't to fly,*
> *To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride*
> *On the curl'd clouds;* to thy stronge bidding task
> Ariel and all his quality. (*Tempest,* I, ii, 189-193.)

I come, O I come, at the sound of my name
From the depths and the caverns of Hell where I lie,
I can rush through the torrent and ride on the flame

Or mount on the whirlwind that sweeps thro' the sky —
What wilt thou have me do for thee? (*D&L*, p. 2.)

When Magus, in answer to the above speech explains that he merely wants Devil to guard Amoret, his wanton young wife, Devil's reply sounds like a speech of Hotspur's.

By heaven, methinks it were an easy leap
To pluck bright honour from the pale-fac'd moon
Or dive into the bottom of the deep.
(*Henry IV, Part I*, I, iii, 201-203.)

I would do ought but this—*I'd dive i' th' sea, . . .*
Or from the hornéd corners of the Moon
I'd pluck the charméd flowers that flourish there; . . .
I'd bring thee gems from out
The stilly chambers of the mighty deep.[6]
(*D&L*, p. 4.)

Shakspere's magician and Tennyson's magician threaten their respective supernatural servants with identical punishments.

If thou murmurest *I will rend an oak*
And peg thee in its knotty entrails till
Thou hast howled away twelve winters.
(*Tempest*, I, ii, 294-296.)

Speak and beware the magic of my spells!
Or *I will rive yon mighty Cedar-Tree*
Sheer from its topmost windiest branch unto
The lowest fang o' th' root — between each half
I'll place thy sinful carcase and again
When the cleft stem shall close without fissure
Thy bunching body shall be quash'd as flat
As spider in a hinge.
(*D&L*, p. 60.)[7]

Tennyson's "Stephanio, a Sailor" seems to have taken his name from the drunken butler of *The Tempest*, and his character from Stephano and the swaggering boatswain of *The Tempest*. The words *yare* and *yarely* are frequently on the boatswain's lips (*Tempest*, I, i, 5-7), as they are on Stephanio's (*D&L*, p. 60).[8] Stephanio's first speech in *The*

Devil and the Lady is an echo of a line spoken by the Master of the ship in *The Tempest.*

> Fall to 't yarely, or *we run ourselves agroun*d
> (*Tempest, I,* i, 4.)
>
> It seems *I've run aground here*
> (*D&L,* p. 40.)

There is some similarity in plot between *Othello* and *The Devil and the Lady.*[9] The scene in which Othello accuses Desdemona of infidelity is similar to the scene in *The Devil and the Lady* in which Magus expresses distrust of Amoret (*D&L,* pp. 8-9), but Amoret is much more glib in her protestations of innocence. Othello at one point trusts his wife's reputation to the watchfulness of Iago (*Othello,* I, iii, 285-301.), as Magus intrusts his wife to Devil (*D&L,* pp. 3-4.)

The character of Benedict the Monk, one of Amroet's suitors, is modeled on that of Shakspere's Falstaff. Benedict is fat, sensual, and hypocritical. In addressing Falstaff, Prince Hal uses the following terms, which are echoed in Tennyson's play:

> "Reverend vice"
> "roasted Manning-Tree ox, with pudding in his belly"
> "trunk of humours"
> "whoreson, obscene greasy tallow-catch"
> "Swollen parcel of dropsies"
> "clay-brained guts"
> (*Henry IV,* Part I, II, iv, 251-500).
>
> "Top and pink of all morality"
> "that demi-circle of entrails"
> "hog in a high wind"
> "barrel-bellied sanctity"
> "fair, round juicy corporation"
> "a fine cargo of guts."
> (*D&L,* pp. 44-52.)

When the revelling suitors hear Magus approach, they direct Benedict to hide up the chimney (*D&L,* p. 58), a plan of escape which Falstaff considers when he hears Master Ford approaching (*Merry Wives of Windsor,* IV, ii, 56.)[10]

In addition to the character of Benedict, Tennyson ap-

pears to have taken the following phrases from Shakspere's Falstaff scenes:

> What tellest thou me of black and blue. *I was beaten myself into all the colors of the rainbow.*
> (*Merry Wives,* IV, v, 112-113.)

> There shall be no sound place within thy person;
> *Thou shalt be all the colours of the rainbow.*[11]
> (*D&L,* p. 31.)

> Yea, and *to tickle our noses* with speargrass *to make them bleed;*
> (*Henry IV, Part I,* II, iv, 340-341.)

> What! *have I ticked you? your nose drops blood.*
> (*D&L,* p. 56.)

When the doting Magus takes leave of Amoret early in Tennyson's play, the speeches recall the dialogue between Theseus and Hippolyta in the opening scene of *Midsummer Night's Dream.*

> *Theseus:*
> Now fair Hippolyta, our nuptial hour
> Draws on apace; four happy days bring in
> Another moon; but, oh, methinks, how slow
> This old moon wanes! she hungers my desires,
> Like to a stepdame or a dowager,
> Long withering out a young man's revenue.
>
> *Hippolyta:*
> Four days will quickly steep themselves in nights,
> Four nights will quickly dream away the time;
> And then the moon like a silver bow
> New bent in heaven, shall behold the night
> Of our solemnities.
> (*Midsummer Night's Dream,* I, i, 1-11.)

> *Amoret:*
> Alas! and when shall Heaven's auspicious breath
> Restore thee to these longing eyes?
>
> *Magus:*
> E're yet again the silver moon shall fill
> The curvéd radiance of her glowing horns.
>
> *Amoret:*
> How in thy tedious absence shall I chide
> The lazy motion of the lagging hours?
> Hours will seem days.
> (*D&L,* p. 8.)

Tennyson parodies a speech of Quince to Bottom in *Midsummer Night's Dream.*

> You can play no part but Pyramus: for Pyramus is a sweet-faced man; a proper man, as one shall see in a summer's day; a most lovely, gentlemanlike man; therefore you must needs play Pyramus.
> (*Midsummer Night's Dream,* I, ii, 87-91.)

> I am an honest, true, and proper lover,
> A gentle, comely, comfortable lover,
> A well-proportioned and most gracious lover,
> As ever woman set her eyes upon.
> (*D&L,* p. 29.)

There are several echoes of *Romeo and Juliet* in *The Devil and the Lady.* In one instance Tennyson combines bits of Shaksperian dialogue.

> *Capulet:*
> How now, How now, how now, chop-logic!
> (*Romeo and Juliet,* III, v, 150.)

> *Gregory:*
> Do you quarrel, sir?
>
> *Abraham:*
> Quarrel, sir! no, sir.
> (*Romeo and Juliet,* I, i, 59-60.)

> *Antonio:*
> Do you chop logic with me, you dunderhead?
>
> *Pharmaceutus:*
> Who I, Sir, No, Sir.
>
> *Antonio:*
> Sirrah!
> (*D&L,* p. 35.)

Devil, in Tennyson's play, chiding Amoret for her copious tears, uses a simile which Capulet had used in rebuking Juliet.

> Thou counterfeit's a bark, a sea, a wind:
> For still thy eyes, which I may call the sea,
> Do ebb and flow with tears; the bark thy body is,
> Sailing in this salt flood.
> (*Romeo and Juliet,* III, v, 132-135.)

> More yet? at this rate

You'd float a ship o' the line.
(*D&L*, p. 18.)

The several stychometric passages in *The Devil and the Lady* contain a number of puns in the Shaksperian manner. The following play upon *stalemate* apparently was taken from *The Taming of the Shrew:*

I pray you sir, is it your will
To make a stale of me among these mates?
(*Taming of the Shrew*, I, i, 57-58.)

Devil:
But I'll cry check to ye. I'll warrant
Ill prove a stalemate to ye.
Amoret:
In truth *my mate is stale enough.*[12]

Tennyson borrows the following word-play from Shakspere:

But fish not with *this melancholy bait*
For this fool-gudgeon, this opinion.
(*Merchant of Venice*, I, i, 101-102.)

Why is the curvéd fish-hook buried in
The length of the twisting worm? *My gudgeons play*
Around the baited snare.
(*D&L*, p. 60.)

A number of Shaksperian epithets and descriptive phrases appear to have been called to mind by young Tennyson as he wrote his play. The following are examples:

My way of life
Is fall'n into the sear, *the yellow leaf.*
(*Macbeth*, V, iii, 22-23.)

Thou *yellowest leaf* on Autumn's wither'd tree![13]
(*D&L*, p. 12.)

Though *the yesty waves*
Confound and swallow navigation up:
(*Macbeth*, IV, i, 53-54.)

For I forthwith upon the *yeasty wave* . . .
Shall now embark.
(*D&L*, p. 3.)

With *soft low tongue* and lowly courtesy
(*The Taming of the Shrew,* Induction, F, 114.)

Let there be . . .
No colloquy of *soft-tongued* whisperings
Like the *low hum* of the delighted bee
I' th' calyx of a lily.
(*D&L,* p. 18.)

His *eyes were green as leeks*
(*Midsummer Night's Dream,* V, i, 342.)

Squinting through *green leeky eyes.*
(*D&L,* p. 44.)

It is evident that Tennyson drew heavily upon his knowledge of Shakspere's plays for the plot, characterization, and language of *The Devil and the Lady.*

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[1]Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir* (New York, 1897), I, 5, 16, and 513.

[2]Alfred Tennyson, *The Devil and the Lady,* ed. Charles B. L. Tennyson (London, 1930), p. v.

[3]Edmund Blunden, *Nation and Athenaeum,* XLVI (1930), 705; *LTLS,* January 30, 1930, p. 75; *Oxford Magazine,* March 6, 1930, p. 587; St. J. Adcock, *Spectator,* February 8, 1930, p. 202.

[4]Adolf Füting, *Tennyson's Jugenddrama* (Marburg, 1932), pp. 66-67, 73, 74.

[5]In the earliest extant manuscript of the play, the heroine is called *Jessica,* a name which Tennyson had found in *The Merchant of Venice.* Tennyson later changed the name to the more suitable *Amoret.* See *The Devil and the Lady,* p. vi.

[6]These boasting lines of Devil's strongly resemble a passage in Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* (V, v, 241-257), but I find no external evidence that Tennyson knew Fletcher at this time. Tennyson may have read Young's *Night Thoughts,* IV, 391-397, and the last speech in Milton's *Comus,* which present similar images.

[7]Cf. *Tempest,* I, ii, 274.

[8]Tennyson apparently had forgotten *The Devil and the Lady* when he expressed regret in 1872 that he had never used the word *yarely* in his poetry. (*Memoir,* II, 133.)

[9]As a child Tennyson read *Othello,* his first Shaksperian play. (*Memoir,* I, 513.)

[10]Also noted by Füting, *op. cit.,* p. 74.

[11]Noted by Füting, p. 74.

[12]Noted by Füting, pp. 74-75.

[13]Tennyson had also probably read Byron, *On This Day I Complete My Thirty-Sixth Year,* I, 4, "My days are in the *yellow leaf.*"

[14]For additional Shaksperian and Elizabethan phrases see Füting, pp. 66, 67, 74.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

By S. A. T.

A SHAKSPERE CELEBRATION

On Sunday, the twenty-first of April of this year, an unusually successful Shakspere celebration was held at the National Arts Club in the City of New York. Three Shakspere associations co-operated, under the industrious and able guidance of Mr. Arthur Heine, to make this a memorable occasion. The Shakespeare Club of New York, now presided over by Mr. Charles Warburton, the Shakespeare Association of America, whose destinies are being guided by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, and the S. A. T. Shakespeare Reading Circle combined to participate in the celebration. More than 120 guests were present, all enthusiastic lovers of Shakspere; the dinner was good; dress was informal; the speeches were short and clever, as well as witty; the singing was delightful; everybody looked and was happy. The program was as follows:

Address of welcome by Mr. Warburton; remarks by the Master of Ceremonies, Dr. Franklin Dunham; several Elizabethan songs by Mr. Winston Ross, accompanied by his mother, Fannie Swinburne; an extremely entertaining address by Godfrey Haggard, Consul General of Great Britain; an intensely dramatic and effective recitation of Hamlet's "rogue and peasant-slave" soliloquy by John Barrymore (at his best); a hilly-billy version of the Romeo and Juliet balcony scene by Robert Porterfield and Miss Kalata Humphries (a step-ladder serving as the balcony); comments by Sam Jaffe; a reading of a burlesque poem on Hamlet by Mr. Arthur Guiterman (the poem, not the play, by Mr. Guiterman); a bit of theatrical history by Dr. Milton Smith of the Morningside Players; more singing; and, finally, a simulated radio broadcast of the Boar's-head Tavern scene from *Henry IV,* the artists being Charles Warburton, Alfred Shirley, William Beal, Guy Spaull, Robert Craven, John Parsons, Libby Wall and Winston Ross.

HAMLET'S 'SECT AND FORCE'

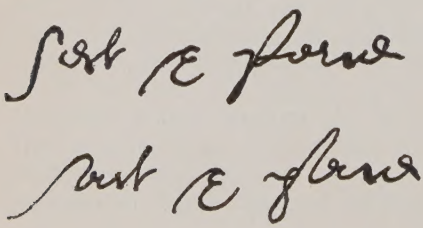
Laertes, Paris-bred gentleman, warns his innocent and unsuspecting sister against Hamlet's attentions. According to the 1604 Quarto (Q2) he instructs her (I, iii, 24-27) that Hamlet's protestations of love are to be believed only 'as he in his particuler act and place / May giue his saying deede, which is no further / Then the maine voyce of Denmarke goes withall.' The first Folio (F1) text varies from this in several important respects, reading 'As he in his peculiar Sect and force / May giue his saying deed:' etc. Q1 (1603) omits the passage.

It is generally taken for granted that 'particuler' of Q2 and 'peculiar' of F1 mean practically the same thing, and an editor's choice of one or the other word depends on which of the two primary texts he accepts as representing Shakespere's intentions. But it is not so with 'act and place' *versus* 'sect and force.' Almost all editors of Hamlet have adopted the text of Q2. Only Rowe and Charles Knight seem to have adhered to F1; R. G. White kaleidoscoped the two texts and read 'peculiar sect and place,' defining 'sect' to mean *'class, rank,* or, in the slang of society, *set.'* (See the Furness Variorum, vol. 1, page 62.) Unquestionably, 'act and place' gives a more obvious meaning than 'sect and force.' Collier thought that 'sect and force' might be 'strained into a meaning.' The Misses Porter and Clarke, in their edition of the play, cleverly explain 'peculiar sect and force' as meaning

'rank and influence, . . . the peculiar rank of a prince whose uncle has superseded him'; and they go so far as to say (p.199) that Q2's text is not nearly as significant or strong.' Most editors consider the Folio's reading so bad that they do not even mention it, much less attempt to explain it. Even Mr. J. D. Wilson does not call it to the attention of students in his 1934 edition of the play.

In *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet* (page 48) Mr. Wilson, citing this passage as an example of 'paraphrase' by the compositor, says (in his peculiar jargon) that 'the word *act* appears to have been misread *sect,* which at that period might be interpreted *sex,* and then *place* emended to *force* to suit the context thus created.' This cryptic suggestion perhaps means that Ophelia should take into consideration the force (driving power?) of Hamlet's peculiar sexual urge. That an Elizabethan compositor would have taken the liberty to emend what he did not understand is one of those fantastic notions which make Professor Wilson's texts and comments notorious.

That modern editors ought to retain the Folio text appears from the following considerations: (1) the words make tolerably good sense; (2) there is no certain instance of Shakspere's use of 'sect' for 'sex' (Falstaff, in *2Henry IV,* may have used the word in the sense of 'class'); (3) the principle of *durior lectio* strongly favors the retention of the Folio reading; and (4) 'sect and force,' in secretary script, may easily be misread as 'act and place'.



In Gothic script an *a,* made with a curved infra-linear initial upstroke, may look exactly like *se;* hence 'act' may be misread 'sect,' especially if the penman happened to leave a gap in the descending part of the flourished initial curve (see facsimile). In 'place' and 'force' the last two letters are identical; secretary *a* was (and is) frequently mistaken for *or;* and the most common variety of secretary initial *f* can easily be written so as to be mistaken for *pl* because *l*'s (*i*'s, *b*'s, etc.) were often made without a loop (*i.e.,* without an initial ascender), and because the initial and descending portion of such an *f* could easily be written so that it resembled a secretary *p* (see facsimile).

'Particular' may be a misreading of 'peculiar' if, as frequently happened in the writing of Elizabethan penmen, the *p* and the *per* (or *par*) brevigraph were made alike; and if the letters *cu* were written with three vertical minims (as they should have been written), the first one somewhat taller than the other two, they would have been mistaken for *tic* (with an undotted *i* *).

SHAKSPERE'S WILL

A week or so ago a very respectable looking man introduced himself to us with something that he thought would be of great interest to American lovers of Shakspere and especially to members of our Association. It was nothing less than what he described as an amazingly realistic facsimile of Shakspere's last will and testament, including the notation on the back of the last page, which could be bought for the surprisingly small sum of fifty

*Extant evidence tends to the conclusion that Shakspere was one of those many Elizabethans who did not dot their *i*'s almost as a matter of principle.

cents. The facsimiles, he said, are produced in France by a secret process which gives the document the exact appearance of an ancient, faded, yellowed, and frayed manuscript. At first glance his sample seemed indeed to be all that he represented it to be. On careful examination we discovered the following imperfections: the bottom line of the text of pages 1 and 2 was missing, the facsimile was reduced by at least twenty-five percent, the ragged margins on the right side of the leaves were a great deal more ragged than in the original document (of which we have photographs), and the transcript accompanying the facsimile was lamentably inaccurate. For scholarly purposes such a facsimile, it need hardly be said, is worthless; as a means of impressing the ignorant it may have some value.

SHAKSPERE IN MISCALOOSA

On page 180 of Dr. Esther C. Dunn's popularly well-received book *Shakespeare in America* one reads the following sentences:

> "Miscaloosa was four hundred and eighty miles by water down the Black Water River from Mobile. Thither Ludlow and his company repaired for the summer of 1825. They played in the 'ballroom' of the hotel . . . Miscaloosa boasted twenty-five hundred souls."

Even the general reader for whom this book was written (see the Preface) will be interested in the following comment on the above from Dr. Bob Jones:

"I happen to have been born in Alabama and know something about the history and tradition of the state and this [*i.e.,* the above] sounded all wrong to me, but just to be sure I checked with the director of the state archives and history. There was never any place in Alabama called *Miscaloosa.* Miss Dunn evidently meant 'Tuscaloosa.' There was never any *Black Water River.* Miss Dunn evidently meant the 'Black Warrior River,' upon which Tuscaloosa is situated. Anybody with even an elementary knowledge of American geography should know that Mobile is a port located at the mouth of the river, on the Gulf. It is impossible to go from there *down* the river anywhere except into the Gulf itself. However, by going *up* the Mobile River into the Alabama, into the Tombigbee, into the Black Warrior, one reaches Tuscaloosa, a distance which the geographical survey of the state says is *395* miles."

THE FIRST AMERICAN ACTORS

Volume 48 of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* contains an extremely interesting essay by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach about an important historical document which he obtained from the late Bertram T. Lee, a well-known collector of early Americana. The document, written in Spanish, on six folio pages, on June 28, 1599, and duly notarized, consists of articles of agreement between nine persons, seven men and two women, to form and act as a troupe of actors for the production of plays in the "City of the Kings" [*i.e.,* Lima, Peru] as in the rest of the districts where it may be to [their] interest." The contract, "the earliest document known relative to the stage in America," was to run for three years; it bears (as the fine facsimile which accompanies the essay shows) the signatures of all the participants except the illiterate Isabel de Los Angeles, the wife of Francisco Perez de Robles (the manager and the prime mover of the company). Dr. Rosenbach feels that "these first American actors should be enrolled among the immortals of the New World," and we see no harm in doing so.

A UNIQUE SHAKSPERE ITEM

Early in 1920 the late Mr. Henry C. Folger, the founder of the magnificent Shakespeare Memorial Library in Washington, D. C., purchased a badly and sadly mutilated and incomplete copy of an early and hitherto unknown edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* which lacks (among others) the title-page. This highly interesting little pamphlet has just been published (in collotype facsimile, cloth-bound, pages lxiv + 64, $4.) by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York (597 Fifth Ave.) for the trustees of Amherst College, with a scholarly and pleasantly readable introduction by Dr. Joseph Q. Adams, the director of the Library and one of America's foremost Shaksperians. The introduction tells the interesting story of the provenance of the little book and attempts, in some highly theoretical guessing, aided by bibliographical clues, to account for its history and mutilations, and succeeds in correcting a number of erroneous statements by John P. Collier, Sidney Lee, William Jaggard, Justin Winsor, and Edmund K. Chambers regarding the bibliographic history of *The Passionate Pilgrim.* That this unique Folger item is in part a fragment of what is really the first edition of the poem may be accepted as highly probable, perhaps as proved; that in publishing it the knavish Jaggard—a thorough rascal, according to Dr. Adams—intended to deceive his customers into thinking that they were purchasing Shakspere's "sugred sonnets" (of which Meres had written in 1598) is more than doubtful; that Jaggard shrewdly fooled W. Leake or conspired with him "to offer along with his [1500] edition of *Venus and Adonis* an ostensible companion volume, *The Passionate Pilgrim,* by W. Shakespeare" as a means of accounting for the sale of the latter item at "the Greyhound in Paules Churchyard" is possible but not probable.

It is a pity that "G. O.," who may have been the original owner of the little vellum-bound volume containing this poem along with four others, has not been identified. (The date of the binding also seems to be unascertainable.) It is also a matter of regret that the poor remains of leaf C8 and of the other leaves which were torn out of the little book (possibly by some person who was disgusted with the obscene matter which a silly young man—Richard Fallowes?—seems to have scribbled on them) have not been facsimiled. We say this because Dr. Adams bases some of his theories on certain features of these remnants.

This book is one of the indispensable items in any Shaksperian collection.

A CORRECTION

At the top of the second column of Mr. Dowlin's communication on page 256 of the October (1939) issue of our *Bulletin* there is a serious typographical error which we wish to correct. The passage should read thus:

The proverb was common throughout Europe, and no printed source is necessary to explain its presence in *As You Like It,* especially one so obscure as the octavo *Agamemnon* of 1566, in which edition only "W. R.'s" poem appears. Nevertheless, "W. R.'s" use of the proverb should be of interest to those investigating Elizabethan proverbs.